

Religion, Culture, and Conflict: Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders Working to End the War on Drugs in the Philippines

A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
In the Department of Religion and Culture
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Canada

By Marissa Grace Alarcon
© Copyright Marissa Grace Alarcon, March 2019. All Rights Reserved

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis/dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis/dissertation in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis/dissertation work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department of Religion and Culture or the Dean of the College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis/dissertation or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis/dissertation.

Requests for permission to copy or make other use of the material in this thesis/dissertation in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Religion and Culture
St. Thomas More College
1437 College Drive
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W6
Canada

OR

Dean
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
University of Saskatchewan
116 Thorvaldson Building, 110 Science Place
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5C9
Canada

ABSTRACT

Media reports of over 12,000 lives lost since July 1, 2016, and the other alleged human rights violations noted in the Philippines' war on drugs, attracted the attention of people globally. The increasing number of victims has prompted human rights advocates, peacebuilders, and religious organizations including the Roman Catholic Church to urge the Philippine government to seek a sustainable solution to end the war on drugs and promote nonviolent, peacebuilding alternatives.

This thesis will describe one such alternative, brought into being by the roles of faith-inspired women in peacebuilding, and examine the crucial involvement of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in effective and robust peacebuilding in the country.

The purpose of this research is to discern emerging issues along with the actual and possible roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the Philippines. With proper consultation, implementation, and support from faith-based organizations including women peacebuilders, nonviolent alternatives and approaches can and are being employed. This thesis aims to prove that faith-inspired women's participation in developing nonviolent strategies to address drug abuse plays a significant role in fostering cultures of peace in the Philippines. Further, better understanding of the roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the war on drugs could have a positive effect on empowering women and create collaboration with their counterparts abroad, gaining more support from international peacebuilding communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Christopher Hrynkow, for his patience, guidance, encouragement, and unending support throughout the thesis writing process. His valuable knowledge and contributions to my work are immeasurable.

I would also like to thank my Thesis Advisory Committee, Dr. Mary Ann Beavis and Dr. Cynthia Wallace, who provided excellent input and insights from my proposal defence up to the final stages of the writing process.

To my external examiner, Dr. Maureen Flaherty, I also extend my gratitude for offering helpful advice and inspiration that contributed to the successful completion of this thesis.

Thank you also to the following:

- The University of Saskatchewan Global Engagement Scholarship: for funding my travel to the Philippines to conduct my interviews and gather resources not available in Canada.
- My editor, Therese Jelinski: for generously sharing her knowledge, expertise and time in editing my thesis, and for her continued support and encouragement.
- All my research participants: for sharing their time, knowledge, experiences, stories, and contributions to help address the issues of the Philippines' war on drugs.
- Dr. Heidi Epstein: for her support when I took her class, and for arranging the Colloquium so that I could present my thesis.
- Dr. Alisha Pomazon: for graciously sharing her time in chairing my thesis defence.
- Sandra Kary and the Catholic Health Association of Saskatchewan Board of Directors: for all their support and encouragement.
- Dr. Mary (Deutscher) Heilman: for sharing her knowledge and expertise in ethics and research.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband and children, and all my families and friends for their support, encouragement, and unconditional love. To my brother, whom I made reference a few times in this work; you may be gone now, but you are always loved and never forgotten.

Most of all, this thesis is dedicated to you, Lord, my source of wisdom, strength, and life. To God be the glory!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALS	Alternative Learning System
AWIT	Association of Women in Theology
CBCP	Catholic Bishop Conference of the Philippines
CBR	Community-Based Rehabilitation
CBRP	Community-Based Rehabilitation Program
CCF	Christ Commission Fellowship
Comelec	Commission on Election
DDB	Dangerous Drugs Board
Dep.Ed	Department of Education
DILG	Department of the Interior and Local Government
DOH	Department of Health
EWf	Ecumenical Women's Forum
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
GI	General Intervention
LGU	Local Government Unit
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
NGO	Non-Government Organization
PNP	Philippine National Police
PS	Police Station
RA	Republic Act
SCMP	South China Morning Post
SDU	Surrendering Drug User
SIPAG	Simula sa Pag-asa (Start from Hope)
SONA	State of the Nation Address
TESDA	Technical Education and Skills Development Authority
UN	United Nations
US	United States

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
 CHAPTER ONE – Introductory Chapter	 1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Thesis Structure	5
1.3 Significance and Scope of the Thesis	7
1.4 Methodology	10
CHAPTER TWO – Philippines’ War on Drugs	18
2.1 Historical Background of the War on Drugs in the Philippines	19
2.1.1 War on Drugs in the United States	23
2.1.2 War on Drugs in Colombia	27
2.2 The Philippine Government’s Culture of Violence	29
2.3 Drug Dealers’ and Users’ Culture of Violence	32
2.4 Government’s and Non-Government Organizations’ Initiatives	35
2.4.1 General Intervention and Community-Based Rehabilitation	38
CHAPTER THREE – The Role of Religion in the Philippines	46
CHAPTER FOUR – Literature Review	53
4.1 Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding	53
4.2 Peacebuilding and Religion	63
4.3 Women as Peacebuilders	71
4.4 Women’s Role in Peacebuilding in the Philippines	74
CHAPTER FIVE – Peacebuilding Processes	78
5.1 Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders – Discussions	80
Table 5.1: Research Participants Description and Roles in Peacebuilding	83
5.1.1 Faith-Inspired Women and their Current Roles	87
Table 5.2: Summary of the Themes Presented in Chapter 5	87
5.1.2 Filipino Women, Religion, and Politics	96
Table 5.3: Research Participants’ Perception of the Role of Gender in the Support they Receive.....	98
5.1.3 Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders and the War on Drugs	102
Table 5.4: The Research Participants and the Philippines’ War on Drugs	102
CHAPTER SIX – Conclusions	118
Bibliography	124

Appendix A – Interview Guide (English and Filipino versions)	133
Appendix B – Participant Consent Form	139
Appendix C – Transcript Release Form	142

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1: Research Participants Description and Roles in Peacebuilding	83
Table 5.2: Summary of the Themes Presented in Chapter 5	87
Table 5.3: Research Participants’ Perception of the Role of Gender in the Support they Receive	98
Table 5.4: The Research Participants and the Philippines’ War on Drugs	102

CHAPTER ONE – Introductory Chapter

1.1 Introduction

The War on Drugs in the Philippines has cost over 12,000 lives since July 1, 2016.¹ Despite all the controversy over extrajudicial killings and other issues that the administration is facing, President Rodrigo Duterte retained “high approval and trust ratings in an October 2017 Pulse Asia Research survey scoring both at 80 percent.”²

This thesis will explore a seemingly paradoxical situation: even though more than 80 percent of the Philippines’ population is comprised of Roman Catholics, and Catholic Social Teaching is centered on respect for human life and dignity,³ most Filipinos continue to support the Philippines’ war on drugs that has cost so many lives. A month after the 2016 election, during President Duterte’s State of the Nation Address (SONA), he reiterated that “the fight against criminality and illegal drugs and corruption will be relentless and sustained.”⁴

Taking into account the historical and religious background of the Philippines, Christianity—and Roman Catholicism, in particular—plays a significant role in the country. Since the population is mostly Roman Catholic, this thesis aims to explore how biblical scripture and Catholic Social Teaching have influenced Filipinos not only in their day-to-day living but also even in major decisions including which political parties to support. Many Filipino

¹ “Philippines: Duterte’s ‘Drug War’ Claims 12,000+ Lives,” *Human Rights Watch*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/18/philippines-dutertes-drug-war-claims-12000-lives> (accessed May 14, 2018).

² Alexandria Dennise San Juan, “Duterte retains high approval, trust ratings scoring both at 80% - Pulse Asia,” *Manila Bulletin*, October 13, 2017, <https://news.mb.com.ph/2017/10/13/duterte-retains-high-approval-trust-ratings-scoring-both-at-80-pulse-asia/> (accessed April 23, 2018).

³ “CBCP’s pastoral statement vs illegal drugs, killings,” *Philstar Global*, February 5, 2017, <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/02/05/1669324/full-text-cbcps-pastoral-statement-vs-illegal-drugs-killings> (accessed May 14, 2018).

⁴ Bea Cupin, “Duterte’s marching orders for war on drugs, crime, corruption,” *Rappler*, July 26, 2016, <https://www.rappler.com/nation/141011-sona-2016-duterte-marching-orders-police-drugs-crime-corruption> (accessed April 23, 2018).

Catholics use the Ten Commandments as their guiding principle in life. Most of these Catholics also acknowledge the social teaching of their church that

As a gift from God, every human life is sacred from conception to natural death. The life and dignity of every person must be respected and protected at every stage and in every condition. The right to life is the first and most fundamental principle of human rights that leads Catholics to actively work for a world of greater respect for human life and greater commitment to justice and peace.⁵

So, in this case, why do some Catholics support the Philippines' war on drugs? Does this mean they also accept the killings?

In line with the questions raised above, this thesis aims to find connections between religion, culture, and conflict as noted in the title. This thesis also explores how religious peacebuilding with the proper implementation, consultation, and support of faith-inspired organizations including women peacebuilders, can better employ a nonviolent approach to end the drug problems in the Philippines. I am particularly interested in exploring this topic because growing up in the Philippines, I have seen the good, the bad, and the ugly of our nation. I have lived long enough to be able to experience six different presidents: Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, and Benigno Aquino III. The current President Rodrigo Duterte would have been the seventh if I had not already emigrated from the country when the last election occurred in 2016. Although I am now a Canadian citizen, I am still deeply rooted and well-connected with the political situation, especially regarding the current administration, since most of my family, relatives, and friends still live there. I have seen how drug-related issues have escalated from bad to worse. There are times that people just get used to it and accept the situation as the new normal; if this is the only environment you have ever seen and all you have known, you will learn to either deal with it or be an active part of it.

⁵ "Human Life and Dignity," *United States Catholic Conference of Bishops*, (n.d.), <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/> (accessed April 23, 2018).

Living in different countries (including the United Arab Emirates and Canada) has opened my eyes and helped me see alternative options on how these countries made their places safe. Learning about other countries' culture, laws, practices, and even seeing other Filipinos follow these countries' rules convinced me there is still hope for my homeland.

My previous coursework on the Philippines' War on Drugs presented ideas on how the "war" started, who the key actors were, and how many lives were lost. Researching these topics gave me an understanding of how urgent the need is to critically examine the broader impact of the war on drugs on Filipino society. My positionality as a Filipino-Canadian and my coursework and interest in peace and conflict studies helped me uphold effective violence intervention and prevention in response to this costly conflict.

The purpose of this thesis is to discern emerging issues and the possible roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the Philippines. In her master's thesis "The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia," Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez states in her hypotheses that

Woman have been disproportionately affected by the Colombian conflict, therefore including women in the negotiation table would help to better address justice issues [...] and listening to their claims for peace would help in developing a more successful post-conflict reconstruction.⁶

For comparable reasons, I hold the view that focusing on the roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in fostering a culture of peace that is sustainable and has a positive effect on empowering women is important. Building a more inclusive society could mean including women especially now that they are claiming more leadership roles and breaking from their conventional social, political, and economic norms. In support, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 acknowledges that including women in peacebuilding and decision-making

⁶ Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez, "The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia," *MA Thesis*, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, Washington DC, 2013, <http://hdl.handle.net/10822/558255> (accessed May 7, 2018).

processes brings a gender perspective that addresses some policies that are discriminatory and gender-biased decisions.⁷ In this thesis, I want to explore the perspectives of women leaders inspired by their faith who are offering peaceful solutions.

As the country is facing a culture of violence, corruption, and rampant crime caused by drug use and abuse, Filipinos are clamouring for “change” at all cost.⁸ The current government has met that need with violence,⁹ which is opposed to the nonviolent response suggested by religious peacebuilders. This policy of meeting violence with violence to deal with the challenges posed by drug abuse is tied together with the president’s popularity for most of the Filipino people.¹⁰ Although the government offers drug intervention, community-based rehabilitation, and other nonviolent programs, the responses that are violent in nature seem to gain more attention.

Tanya Schwarz, a Visiting Research Fellow at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame, winner of the 2017 Peace Dissertation Prize from the United States Institute of Peace, and author of *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding*, shares that when considering what constitutes peacebuilding, it is worth noting that “peace no longer simply means the absence of conflict.”¹¹ She adds that Johan Galtung in 1964 in his editorial issue of the *Journal of Peace Research*,

famously distinguished between “negative” peace, which focuses solely on the cessation of violence, and “positive” peace, which works toward a more holistic integration of human communities.¹²

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Cindy Domingo, “The War on Drugs in the Philippines: A Step Toward Fascism?,” *International Examiner*, October 26, 2016, <http://www.iexaminer.org/2016/10/the-war-on-drugs-in-the-philippines-a-step-toward-fascism/> (accessed May 16, 2016).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Tanya Schwarz, *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd, 2018), p.7.

¹² Ibid, p. 7 as cited by Tanya Schwarz, see also Johan Galtung “A Structural Theory of Aggression,” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 1 No. 2 (1964), pp. 95-119.

Schwarz continues that holistic approaches to peacebuilding also “include attention to structural issues related to poverty, race, health, gender, and other areas that contribute to violence.”¹³ In accord with that analysis, this thesis aims to find a more holistic approach to peacebuilding from faith-inspired women peacebuilders, and not only for the war on drugs and direct violence to end, but also to learn more about sustainable solutions for people who suffer from drug addiction through rehabilitation and restorative programs for offenders.¹⁴ Also, Schwarz explains “how FBOs give specific values, identities, and practices meaning and how those meaning shape FBOs and their transnational peacebuilding work.”¹⁵ Schwarz’s work is relevant to this thesis because it paints a picture of how FBOs approach peacebuilding in relation to the research participants (faith-inspired women peacebuilders) and how these women understand their values and identities.

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter one provides a brief introduction to the war on drugs in the Philippines, establishes the positionality of the researcher, and presents the significance and scope of the study, the structure of the thesis, and the methodology. Chapter two focuses on culture and conflict as noted in the title. This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part presents a brief historical background of the war on drugs in the Philippines building upon the introduction in the preceding chapter. This part has two sections that present assessments of parallel wars on drugs: the war on drugs in the United States and the war on drugs

¹³ Tanya Schwarz, *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd, 2018), p.7.

¹⁴ “Christ Commission Fellowship CCF SIPAG Drug Rehab Program 1/2,” *Civika Asian Development Academy*, September 15, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JoDPgiBe2_Y (accessed August 28, 2018).

¹⁵ Tanya Schwarz, *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd, 2018), p.7.

in Colombia. These parallel assessments outline selected successes and failures of the war on drugs approaches and present strategies used, problems encountered, and lessons learned that might be useful in ending the Philippines' war on drugs. The second part of chapter two introduces what I frame as the Philippine government's culture of violence, connecting it with the drug dealers' and users' participation in a comparable culture of violence in the third section. The last part of chapter two explores government and non-government organizations' initiatives in peacebuilding through the primary and secondary resources as enumerated above. Chapter three explains the role of religion in the Philippines, unfolding the paradoxical situation of the Philippines' majority Roman Catholic population's support for the current administration's war on drugs. Chapter three also emphasizes the importance of religion as noted in the title. Chapter four introduces related studies and literature reviews and is divided into four themes: (1) Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding, (2) Peacebuilding and Religion, (3) Women as Peacebuilders, and (4) Women's Role in Peacebuilding in the Philippines. Chapter four also explains why the researcher focuses on faith-inspired women peacebuilders rather than just peacebuilders. The peacebuilding process is chapter five's main focus. This chapter introduces faith-inspired women peacebuilders working to end the war on drugs in the Philippines. The result of the discussions from the interviews with the research participants and the themes that emerged are examined and presented in a narrative format. My evaluation, comments, and reflection follows. The researcher conducted face-to-face interviews with faith-inspired women peacebuilders, using the semi-structured guide questions presented in Appendix A, and collected data and information to contribute to the study. Analysis of data from secondary resources was sourced in other academic studies, speeches from various faith-inspired women, agencies, and non-governmental organizations, books, journals, presentations or lectures, and newspaper

articles and included resources presented from a theological perspective concerned with faith-inspired women and their peacebuilding initiatives. Chapter five has three parts, which include the analysis of the peacebuilding initiatives by faith-inspired women peacebuilders, and examines the role of women and their faith in peacebuilding, explaining why faith-inspired women are crucial to ending the war on drugs in the Philippines. This chapter also provides the results and findings from the interviews and summarizes the analysis of women's role in ending the war on drugs in the Philippines and peacebuilding in general. Moreover, in light of the findings, chapter five discusses potential roles and areas of collaboration between faith-inspired Filipino-Canadian and faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the Philippines and other faith-inspired organizations locally and internationally to ensure the promotion of women's participation in peacebuilding.

The final chapter discusses the importance of including women in the decision-making process and how women can leverage their current roles to promote peacebuilding. This section reveals areas where the government works with faith-inspired women and faith-based organizations in promoting peace and security in the Philippines.

1.3 Significance and Scope of the Thesis

As the Philippines' war on drugs caught the attention of the national and international media because of its bloody nature, it became apparent from a faith-inspired peacebuilding perspective that naming a sustainable solution to end the war on drugs in the country is imperative. With increasing numbers of victims, this thesis argues that the current administration's strategies for conducting the war on drugs are ineffective and that fostering a culture of peace and nonviolence in the country is called for. This thesis is important because it

reveals faith-inspired women's role in peacebuilding in the Philippines and provides a comparative examination of how involving faith-inspired women peacebuilders is crucial to effective and more robust peacebuilding in the country. This research unfolds how women are uniquely positioned to bridge divides between populist politics and sustainable community-based solutions given the traditional and emerging places of women in the Filipino political opportunity structure.¹⁶ It argues that the Philippine government needs to be more committed to including women in decision-making, including by acknowledging their leadership roles. Given the importance of these positions, this research aims to evaluate the following hypotheses:

- Including faith-inspired actors' perspectives in developing nonviolent strategies to end the war on drugs plays a more significant role in fostering cultures of peace in the Philippines that is different from merely secular peacebuilding since the majority of the population are Roman Catholic, and most identify with a faith tradition.¹⁷
- Leveraging faith-inspired women who have current positions in the society in peacebuilding would have a positive effect on empowering women in the country, and this would create a more stable and gender-equal community. Women having substantive representation in peacebuilding negotiations is essential to building a more inclusive culture.
- Better understanding the roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the war on drugs would promote nonviolent alternatives and could create collaboration with their counterparts abroad, gaining more support from international peacebuilding communities.

¹⁶ For more information on women's role, see "Philippines: Coloma Cites Women's Role in Peacebuilding," *Asia News Monitor Bangkok*, Thai News Service Group, November 27, 2011.

¹⁷ Jack Miller, "Religion in the Philippines," *Asia Society*, (n.d.), <https://asiasociety.org/education/religion-philippines> (accessed January 20, 2019).

- A war on drugs approach is not a solution to achieving sustainable peace and security in the Philippines or any other country.

For clarity, the subsequent definitions of key terms will be used. The term “faith-inspired women” in this context can also be referred to as women of faith but are not limited to religious women with congregational vows or charism. Faith-inspired women can be women who belong, believe, practice, and profess that they are part of a certain spiritual, religious, or faith tradition.

Another relevant term in this research is “peacebuilding.” As defined by Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez in her thesis “The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia,”

Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore a relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.¹⁸

In line with this definition, peacebuilding in this context can also refer to all nonviolent efforts and solutions being made not only to end the war on drugs in the Philippines but also to find solutions and strategies to resolve the drug abuse issues, geared to transforming both direct and structural violence. The perspectives and role of religion in this thesis are focused on Christians and Roman Catholics since they are the majority of the population in the research context. This thesis will examine the premise that faith-inspired activists can increase Filipino communities’ capacity to employ effective nonviolent solutions to address the cultures of violence, corruption, and crime co-occurring with drug abuse that fuels the war on drugs.¹⁹

¹⁸ As cited by Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez, “The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia,” April 29, 2013. See also UN: Secretary 4 General’s Policy Committee in Cheng-Hopkins 2010, 5.

¹⁹ Rhea Bitacura-Loquias and Darlene Marques-Caramanzana, “Never Lose Sight of Life,” *Association of Women in Theology*, September 2016, <https://awitsite.wordpress.com/?s=never+lose+sight+of+life> (accessed May 16, 2018).

1.4 Methodology

This study uses a qualitative approach, combining and comparing the results and findings from the semi-structured interviews with the analysis of data collected from secondary resources. This study will focus on women peacebuilders, the role of religion in peacebuilding, the socio-cultural and historical background of the Philippines, and the war on drugs. Drawing inspiration from Maureen Flaherty's approach in her book *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*, this study will use narratives of the discussion from interviewing the research participants to extract both "practical and theoretical" strategies from the primary and secondary resources. These women's personal experiences are valuable, and both practical and theoretical strategies in peacebuilding are useful in developing a sustainable community.²⁰ Flaherty states that

Narrative is the process through which we tell stories about our lives, providing meaning that influences our choice of interactions with self and others.²¹

Narratives help us learn the kind of work women interviewed in this thesis do to end the war on drugs as they share their personal stories, how some of them do what they do, and what they think are effective nonviolent alternatives. Some feminist and theological perspectives in peacebuilding will also be explored.

Another set of data employed in this project was collected through the semi-structured interviews from the chosen women participants based on the set criteria—their leadership position, faith or religious affiliation, and peacebuilding efforts to end the war on drugs in the Philippines. A semi-structured interview research method is commonly used in policy research,²²

²⁰ Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*, (Maryland, Lexington Books, 2012).

²¹ Ibid, p. 49.

²² Margaret Harrell and Melissa Bradley, "Data Collection Methods: Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Group," *National Defense Research Institute*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, 2009.

which is one of the foci of this study. Harrell and Bradley also point out that framing the right questions during the interviews is crucial because research participants tend to communicate through the language and ideas of the research, which can influence the results.²³ It was a great advantage for me as a researcher that I understand Philippine history and politics, having lived there and having been part of it. Speaking the research participants' language and living their culture developed trust easily, which resulted in a more in-depth quality of data collected. The semi-structured interview format allowed the researcher to probe questions for further clarity of discussions and was tailored to tap into aspects of women's efforts on peacebuilding inspired by their faith or their current role as government leaders (see Appendix A). All these factors mentioned allowed me to strategically choose using qualitative approach over quantitative. This does not mean that the former is much better than the latter. This only means that the qualitative method is the approach that works best for this thesis.

Based on the criteria mentioned earlier, participants were recruited using a snowball sampling and through recommendations of key informants. Interviews were done using *Taglish* (Tagalog and English combined) conversation. As explained by Roberto Tangco and Ricardo Ma. Nolasco in their essay,

Taglish is a very widespread predominantly spoken 'mixed' language, variety, whose phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics have been greatly influenced by English and Tagalog.²⁴

Most Filipinos prefer to use *Taglish* in their regular conversation because some words are better understood or explained in English while for lack of translation some words would

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Roberto D. Tangco and Ricardo Ma. Nolasco, "'Taglish' Verbs: How English Loanwords Make it into Philippine Languages," *In Papers from the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, ed. M. Macken (Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), pp. 391-406.

best describe the ideas if used in Tagalog. One example is the phrase “war on drugs.” We would want to use that phrase as it is but if we try to translate that in Tagalog, it would be *digmaan* (war) *sa* (on) *droga* (drugs) or *ipinagbabawal na gamot* (prohibited drugs). This Tagalog translation would mean the same thing but will not be used as such because it would sound awkward, and the translation would be too literal and not used commonly. Instead, it is translated as *laban* (fight) *kontra* (against) *droga* (drugs). To avoid confusion, I decided to use this mixed language or *Taglish* as a medium of conversation during the interview process for easier transcription and a more natural or common translation. This way, I was confident that both the research participants and I understood and meant the same thing, thus resulting in a more accurate interpretation of results. Again, my skills of using *Taglish* during the interview aided by my understanding of the culture reinforced the use of the qualitative method because this approach gave me some flexibility to ask follow-up questions and to have a face-to-face conversation with the participants, which would not have been possible with the quantitative method.

As per the procedure approved by the University of Saskatchewan’s Behavioural Research Ethics Board, thirty prospective participants were approached and received a copy of the participant consent form (see Appendix B). Participants who agreed to participate contacted the researcher. Although some participants expressed their interest in participating, due to the sensitivity of the issue, they decided not to because they thought it would not be as beneficial in establishing their credibility if they chose to remain anonymous and censor their responses. Also, the researcher’s limited time and resources meant that some participants who were willing to participate were not interviewed due to schedule and travel limitations. There were also three participants who were found not to fit the criteria, and although we mutually agreed to exclude

them in the total number of research participants, they happily shared their perspectives about the war on drugs in the Philippines. In total, fifteen ‘qualified’ (as per set criteria) faith-inspired women of different ages (approximately 25 to 70 years old), representing four main geographic locations (Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao, and Metro Manila) were interviewed. This research attracted more than fifty percent of the interested participants—a considerably good number of participation. Again, due to time and budget constraints, most of the interviews took place in Metro Manila (the Philippines capital, and more central) and Luzon in a location convenient to the research participants, such as their office, a coffee shop or restaurant, or their home. Participants from Visayas and Mindanao were interviewed on the date they were available to meet in Manila. Interviews were recorded when consent was provided. Interview guide questions were also sent in advance to allow the research participants to prepare. On their own initiative, most of the research participants wrote their answers to the interview guide questions for their reference and referred to them as we did the ‘question and answer’ part. They were also gracious in giving me their answer sheets for my perusal and easier transcription of their responses.

My understanding of Filipino politics and history offers a clearer perspective of the war on drugs. Adapting the theory of social cubism by Sean Byrne and Neal Carter laid out in their article “Social Cubism: Six Social Forces of Ethnoterritorial Politics in Northern Ireland and Quebec,” I integrated the basic premise of how they see the “social cube of conflict as having six interrelated facets or forces.”²⁵ The six interrelated forces that Byrne and Carter refer to are the following: history, religion, demographics, political institutions, economics, and psychocultural factors.²⁶ These social forces fit into this thesis perfectly. For example, history recounts the

²⁵ Sean Byrne and Neal Carter, “Social Cubism: Six Social Forces of Ethnoterritorial Politics in Northern Ireland and Quebec,” *Peace and Conflict Studies*: Vol. 3, No. 2, Article 5, <http://nsuworks.edu/pcs/vol3/iss2/5>.

²⁶ Ibid.

historical background of drug use and abuse in the country. The rest of the corners of the cube would identify with the other factors, although I chose to use a more specific determinant, i.e. political factors—the government’s culture of violence, demographics—women, economics—poverty, and psychocultural—drug dealers and users’ culture of violence, and other factors that led to President Duterte’s popularity. I made this choice because these factors are more relevant to the context. Byrne and Carter explain that “people concentrating on only one aspect, or side of the puzzle, are unlikely to produce a complete solution or picture of the problem.”²⁷ They add that “only when one considers the interrelations among the faces of the puzzle can one progress towards a more holistic solution.”²⁸ The social cube or interrelated forces discussed in this thesis attempt to explain what led the Philippines to its current situation (the war on drugs), why faith-inspired women peacebuilders are relevant to this study, and why President Rodrigo Duterte is popular and has the support of the majority of the Filipino people—not only those in the country but even those who are abroad, despite the alleged human rights violations. To understand more and find a more holistic solution, it is imperative that we look at many aspects of the problem.

In relation to the social cube discussion above, the faith-inspired women peacebuilders offer an “alternative” nonviolent strategy to the war on drugs. Understanding their peace work can inspire and form a collaboration with their counterparts in the Philippines and abroad, which can become part of a multi-track diplomacy approach. Multi-track diplomacy is a concept developed by Louise Diamond and John McDonald, founders of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. This concept is an “expansion of the original distinction made by Joseph Montville in 1982, between track one (official, governmental action) and track two (unofficial,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

nongovernmental action) approaches to conflict resolution,”²⁹ which later on expanded to nine tracks of multi-track diplomacy:³⁰ (1) government, (2) professional conflict resolution, (3) business, (4) private citizens,³¹ (5) research, training and education,³² (6) activism,³³ (7) religious,³⁴ (8) funding, and (9) public opinion/communication.

I can relate the peace works of faith-inspired women belonging to several tracks (tracks 4, 5, 6, 7, above—see notes for detailed explanation of each), which offer different paths to address the issues on the war on drugs and talk about peace with different approaches and motivations; the current administration suggests a different path altogether. Although both seek to address the issues on illegal drugs, the approaches, implementation, and motivations are different, and could, therefore, lead to different outcomes.

Louise Diamond and John McDonald offer different paths that “when combined within a whole, provide all of the components necessary ‘to help the world become a more peaceful place.’”³⁵ This suggests that there is no single track or correct path, but rather a combination of multiple tracks could result in better outcomes. Similarly, as Sean Byrne and Neal Carter’s social

²⁹ John W. McDonald, *Beyond Intractability*, eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder, September 2003, <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/multi-track-diplomacy> (accessed March 11, 2019).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Track four “consists of the personal involvement of private citizens in peacemaking.” Source: Maria Power and Christopher Hryn timer, “Fostering Cultures of Encounter: Framing Papal Teaching on Dialogue as Multi-Track Peacebuilding,” *The Journal of Social Encounters*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (2017) p.25. To see original source: Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1996), p. 11.

³² Track five “focuses upon peacemaking via learning. Here, attention is centred upon education at all levels, not only does it address meta-questions but provides people with skills necessary for conflict resolution.” Source: Ibid.

³³ Track six is activism, which is “defined as peacemaking through advocacy. This approach is viewed as a necessary counterbalance to track one [government], and seeks to bring injustices to light.” Source: Ibid.

³⁴ Track seven “centres upon religion. This placement suggests that religious organisations contribute ideals and longevity to the multi-track system by providing adherents with a worldview, which includes concepts such as reconciliation, hospitality, and service. There is a notable overlap here with the activist community.” Source: Ibid.

³⁵ Maria Power and Christopher Hryn timer, “Fostering Cultures of Encounter: Framing Papal Teaching on Dialogue as Multi-Track Peacebuilding,” *The Journal of Social Encounters*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (2017), p.25. To see original source: Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1996), p. 11.

cubism explains, focusing on one side of the cube is unlikely to solve the issue because all the corners of the cube are interrelated, and therefore all aspects need to be considered.

This thesis also investigates comparable wars on drugs, such as the war on drugs in the United States and the war on drugs in Colombia. The primary focus on these parallel assessments are the successes and failures of the war on drugs, the strategies used, the problems encountered, and the lessons learned that might be useful to end the Philippines' war on drugs.

Building on my skills as a researcher fluent in Tagalog and English, I travelled to the Philippines in July 2018 to conduct interviews and obtain other source materials that are unavailable in Saskatchewan. Since the war on drugs in the Philippines only emerged in 2016, there were limited academic resources here in Canada. Travelling to the Philippines increased the levels of access to credible sources such as more recent studies and recently published articles and books. Interviewing the research participants helped me overcome the key challenges of analyzing, identifying, and cross-referencing biased materials (pro-administration or anti-administration) that were available: documentaries, interviews, news articles, and journal publications.

Results were grouped using inductive and deductive coding. Schadewitz and Jachna explain, "While the inductive analysis is grounded in the data, a theoretically informed analysis framework guides the deductive analysis."³⁶ Thus, as with any narratives, interpretation can be somewhat subjective, and the use of inductive and deductive coding is representative of an attempt to limit its subjectivity. The use of inductive coding will try to identify patterns in the

³⁶ Nicole Schadewitz and Timothy Jachna, "Comparing Inductive and Deductive Methodologies for Design Patterns Identification and Articulation," *International Association of Societies of Design Research*, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, November 12-15, 2007. <https://www.sd.polyu.edu.hk/iasdr/proceeding/papers/Comparing%20Inductive%20and%20Deductive%20Methodologies%20for%20Design%20Patterns%20Identification.pdf> (accessed May 7, 2018).

data and establish categories; then the remaining data are coded deductively, narrowing down the more general categories to specific themes and thus testing the hypothesis and giving a confirmation (or not) of the researcher's summary and conclusions. Interview data were analyzed by focusing on the themes presented, which summarized the discussions into three main headings. The use of inductive and deductive coding narrowed down the categories, focused and streamlined the interpretation to five themes that emerged during the discussions. These themes will be discussed further in section 5.1.1.

This thesis brought to the surface an under-appreciated group of agents for conflict transformation in the Philippines: faith-inspired women. These women build bridges of peace across cultures of violence and cultures of peace and are too often being excluded from formal political structures.

CHAPTER TWO – Philippines’ War on Drugs

Having lived in the Philippines for thirty years, I learned that drug use and abuse had been a problem in the country even before the Philippines had its own form of government. In fact, according to Ricardo Zarco’s report “A Short History of Narcotic Drug Addiction in the Philippines, 1521-1959,” Dutch drug traffickers as early as 1609 had already brought opium¹ to the southern islands of the Philippines; the opium probably originated from the east coast of India.² Given the history of narcotic drug addiction in the Philippines, the Filipino people seem to have gotten used to it. Family, friends, husbands, wives, parents, and children have all experienced and have been part of violence in drug-related crimes, including family members closest to me. As implied in social cubism, each factor or source is driven by other sources, and all are interrelated. My take on the social cube I presented earlier, indicating the interrelated forces (historical background of drug use and abuse in the country, the government’s culture of violence, the drug dealers’ and users’ culture of violence, the role of religion in the Philippines, the role of women in peacebuilding, and other factors), will be discussed below. Dangerous drug problems driven by other forces became a part of most households, and that included ours. Our family was forced to move to a different part of the city to help my brother rehabilitate; we were lucky because he asked for our help early enough. He was able to work and live well, drug-free, for over a decade until he was randomly killed by a ‘drug addict.’ My personal story formed a connection with the research participants and developed mutual trust. They saw me as a person

¹ Opium is a “highly addictive narcotic drug acquired in the dried latex from the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) seed pod. Traditionally the unripened pod is slit open and the sap seeps out and dries on the outer surface of the pod. The resulting yellow-brown latex, which is scraped off of the pod, is bitter in taste and contains varying amounts of alkaloids such as morphine, codeine, thebaine and papaverine. Other synthetic or semisynthetic opium derivatives include fentanyl, methadone, oxycodone and hydrocodone.” Source: L.Anderson, “Opium,” *Drugs.com*, December 21, 2018, <https://www.drugs.com/illicit/opium.html> (accessed January 3, 2019).

² Ricardo Zarco, “A Short History of Narcotic Drug Addiction in the Philippines, 1521-1959,” *Philippine Sociological Review* Volume 43, Issue No. 1/4 (1995), pp. 1-15.

who understood the issue rather than someone far removed from the reality and dangers of drugs. This made me a kind of an ‘insider-outsider’ researcher. Although this may encounter the challenges of possible biases, I tried my best to be neutral by approaching the interviews with my ‘eyes open,’ but assuming of not knowing anything. As expressed by Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle in their article “The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research,”

Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation.³

This statement best describes my positionality as a researcher with respect to the subject and participants. The research participants felt comfortable sharing their stories with me because they could easily express themselves in a language that they knew, and because of my knowledge of Philippine history and the Filipino culture, they trusted that I would be able to objectively interpret the discussions.

2.1 Historical Background of the War on Drugs in the Philippines

The US State Department’s 2016 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report concluded that *shabu* (the street name for methamphetamine or meth) addiction is the most significant drug problem in the Philippines and *shabu* was reported to be the most illegally sold narcotic in the Philippines.⁴ The Philippines was also in the top list of countries in East Asia with

³ Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle, “The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2009, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/160940690900800105> (accessed March 11, 2019).

⁴ Martin Kevin Santiago, John Constantine Cordon, and Aldrin Jose Cana, “Kill them All: The Government’s War on Drugs,” *The Bedan Review*, Vol. V, March 13, 2017.

the highest rate of *shabu* use as shown in the UN World Drug Report in 2012.⁵ Even the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) expressed in writing in March 2017 their concern about the "proliferation of the drug problem and the alleged involvement of several high-ranking government officials."⁶ The severity and extent of drug abuse in the country led the Philippine president to declare war on drugs and make this one of his priorities.

Rodrigo Duterte first implemented PNP Oplan-Double Barrel Project *Tokhang* in Davao City when he served there as a mayor. The project led Davao City to be ranked the fourth safest city in the world and is now implemented all over the Philippines.⁷ *Tokhang* is a Visayan word which means *Tok-tok Hangyo* (knock and plead), where police knock at the door of an alleged drug user or pusher, asking the person to surrender and be monitored for further assessment."⁸ A possible problem with the *Tokhang* operations is the alleged involvement of government officials with drug trafficking. Some of the police officials are allegedly involved in narcotics as well. Those who are involved could be acting or reacting to this operation in order to protect their personal interests, killing anyone that may be able to implicate them. Knowing that there are law enforcers and policymakers who are involved in drugs, a hasty decision and implementation of *Tokhang* operations, without careful studies or background checks of the involved police officers, could result in many casualties, just as is happening now. Given too much power, people tend to abuse it, especially if they want to protect themselves or someone they love. This example is not new to the Filipino people. From 1972 to 1981 when Martial Law was still in

⁵ Jerry Esplanada, "UN Drug Report: Philippines has Highest Rate of Shabu use in East Asia," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 27, 2012, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/168143/un-drug-report-philippines-has-highest-rate-of-shabu-use-in-east-asia> (accessed January 4, 2019).

⁶ Martin Kevin Santiago, John Constantine Cordon, and Aldrin Jose Cana, "Kill them All: The Government's War on Drugs," *The Bedan Review*, Vol. V, March 13, 2017.

⁷ "PNP Oplan-Double Barrel Project Tokhang," *Municipal Government of Calamba*, <http://www.calambamisocc.gov.ph/index.php/60-capital-outlay/411-pnp-oplan-tokhang> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁸ Ibid.

effect, abuse of power not only from the military but from the political leaders was prevalent during the Marcos regime. “Under the president's command, the military arrested opposition figures, journalists, student and labour activists, and criminal elements.”⁹ Disappearances of people contradicting the government were also rampant. These actions may or may not have been sanctioned by Marcos but could also be exercised by the military to gain favour from the president or for personal reasons. Coincidentally, the first drug-related incident of Duterte’s regime happened just a few hours after he took office on July 1, 2016, and was recorded at Police Station (PS) 2-Moriones in Tondo, Manila. The war on drugs paved the way for the killings to begin; it could even be interpreted as a license to kill if people were to take Duterte’s words literally. Within the same area of PS 2, three more drug-related fatalities were ‘under investigation’ within two weeks.¹⁰

A clear mandate and review of official police records from the present government to verify the current standing or status of the police forces were not done before formally launching the *Tokhang* operations. This step could have saved more lives. The Oplan *Tokhang* operation that was launched on July 1, 2016, was initially under the jurisdiction of the Philippine National Police (PNP) or *Pambansang Pulisya*.¹¹ The PNP is the national police force in the Philippines with around 170,000 personnel under the administration which was controlled by the National Police Commission and is part of the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG).¹² On January 29, 1991, the PNP was formed upon the pursuant of Republic Act 6975 of

⁹ Jeffrey Hays, “Martial Law Years under Ferdinand Marcos,” *Facts and Details*, June 2015, http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Philippines/sub5_6b/entry-3844.html (accessed April 30, 2018).

¹⁰ Patricia Evangelista, “Where the Drug War Began,” *Rappler*, (n.d.), <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/investigative/beginning-war-on-drugs-philippines> (accessed April 30, 2018)

¹¹ Frances Mangosing, “PNP Officially Terminates Oplan Tokhang,” *Inquirer*, October 12, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/937482/pnp-officially-terminates-oplan-tokhang-pnp-oplan-tokhang-pdea> (accessed May 7, 2018).

¹² “History,” *National Police Commission*, <http://www.napolcom.gov.ph/index.php/transparency/about-us>

1990.¹³ The Western style of policing was brought to the Philippines by its Spanish colonizers. During the colonial period, scandalous abuses against the Filipinos were narrated in *El Filibusterismo* (1891) by Jose Rizal.¹⁴ Since 1991, when the PNP started its operations, they have been involved in many controversies, including the Binayug torture case,¹⁵ the Maguindanao massacre,¹⁶ and the failed hostage rescue operation that killed eight tourists from Hong Kong, to name a few.¹⁷ Thus, Filipinos are not new to issues of PNP's corruption and failures. *South China Morning Post* (SCMP) stated, "The police force is widely regarded as one of the Philippines' most corrupt institutions, a reputation reinforced by accusations that three officers were involved in abducting and killing a South Korean businessman."¹⁸ This case is just one on the long list that SCMP has stated in their report, as previously mentioned. There are many more incidents where the police whom Filipinos trust to uphold the law were the ones breaking the law. This is the very reason why the war on drugs that Duterte started might have shaken everyone involved in drugs and other crimes, including the drug dealers, users, pushers, syndicate, police, and even the politicians. This "shake-up" might have led these people to take some drastic measures to protect their identity or their involvement in drugs, which is probably

¹³ "About the Philippine National Police," *Philippine National Police*, May 7, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20120326192226/http://www.pnp.gov.ph/main/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46:about-the-philippine-national-police&catid=25:organization&Itemid=56 (accessed May 7, 2018).

¹⁴ Charles Derbyshire, "The Reign of Greed: A complete English version of *El Filibusterismo* from the Spanish of Jose Rizal," *Philippine Education Company*, Manila, 1912, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10676/10676-h/10676-h.htm> (accessed May 7, 2018).

¹⁵ Jamie Marie Elona, "Cop who was Caught on Camera Torturing Suspect Fall," *Inquirer*, April 15, 2013, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/391241/cop-who-was-caught-on-camera-torturing-suspect-falls> (accessed May 19, 2018).

¹⁶ Jeffrey Hays, "Maguindanao Massacre," *Facts and Details*, 2008, http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Philippines/sub5_6b/entry-3856.html (accessed May 19, 2018).

¹⁷ "Philippine National Police," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippine_National_Police (accessed May 7, 2018).

¹⁸ "A Long History of Corruption in Philippine Police Force," *South China Morning Post*, January 18, 2017, <http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/article/2063245/long-history-corruption-philippine-police-force> (accessed April 30, 2018).

what led to this first fatality and continued to be a pattern over these past few months or years. During my stay in the Philippines and having conversations with people there, they shared how rampant drug use and abuse in the country was before the war on drugs started. They said that almost everyone they knew would know someone who was ‘into’ drugs, whether as an “occasional user or as an addict.” While it is true that anyone could be in danger during the *Tokhang* operations, and therefore experiencing human rights violations, these same people expressed that they still trust the PNP to take their job responsibility seriously. They said that they still believe in due process and that in the end, justice will prevail. These people shared that they still believe that the war on drugs, though unfavourable now, will be beneficial in the future and that many parents still—and will always—wish for a drug-free country for their children.

The Philippines is not the first or only country that has declared war on drugs. In the late 1960s, the Nixon government in the United States declared war on drugs. During this time, religious leaders advocated reforms and questioned the war’s effectiveness. They charged that its execution violated the biblical imperatives of justice and mercy, and they argued that rather than reducing the threat to society posed by illegal drugs, this war on drugs created more orphans by unnecessarily putting the parents in jail.¹⁹ The next section shows two similar assessments of wars on drugs and explains how the Philippines could learn from their experiences, successes and failures.

2.1.1 War on Drugs in the United States

In 2005, RAND Corporation published a report titled “How Goes the ‘War on Drugs?’ An Assessment of U.S. Drug Problems and Policy.” Caulkins et al. set their research to find out

¹⁹ Larry B. Stammer, “Rethinking Tactics in War on Drugs,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 2000, <http://articles.latimes.com/2000/jun/03/local/me-36898> (accessed April 30, 2018).

if the war on drugs was successful, posing the questions “successful at achieving what goals? Moreover, what was the war on drugs supposed to be accomplishing?”²⁰ Depending on the goals set, success could be relative. If the U.S. government planned to eliminate drug use and abuse and have a “drug-free society,” then by this standard, they were set for failure since “no democratic state has been drug-free, and America will not be the first.”²¹ Caulkins et al. summarize their research by explaining that some considered the war on drugs a success while others disputed it as a failure, and relatively few people believed that the U.S. drug policy seemed to be an achievement. The war on drugs in the United States was fought through strategies such as enforcement, treatment, and prevention. Of the three, enforcement had the most allocated budget with the goal of removing drugs and dealers off the street.²² Surprisingly, treatment is less cost-effective than enforcement because many of the treated drug users go back to using again, especially when they are in the same situation as when they started using drugs.²³ Although prevention has moderate success because of the limited programs available, it is the most inexpensive, which is worth pursuing especially when coupled with treatment.²⁴ My experience working in a Catholic healthcare setting, though indirect, gave me some perspectives on how we educate people that “prevention is better than cure.” We encourage patients towards a healthier lifestyle as one way of prevention. This is why it is significant to have programs and agencies that will be able to educate people, especially the young, about the effects of drug abuse—not only on themselves but on their family as well. When we first learned that my

²⁰ Jonathan Caulkins et al., “How Goes the “War on Drugs?” An Assessment of U.S. Drug Problems and Policy,” *RAND Drug Policy Research Center*, RAND Corporation, 2005.
https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2005/RAND_OP121.pdf (accessed April 30, 2018), p.3.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, p.29.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

brother was taking drugs at the age of 16, we talked to him and encouraged him to asked for help. We shared how the changes in his attitude and personality had affected his actions as well as our family. Even in families like ours, health plays a significant role in maintaining peace. I see how this example can relate to a bigger picture, i.e. the government and the society. The government is trying to address the issues of illegal drugs but through which measures? As Caulkins et al. point out “using the right tool for the job” and a balance between “enforcement, treatment, and prevention” could be an effective intervention strategy.²⁵ In addition, Caulkins et al. explain that

While putting more emphasis on treatment, and perhaps prevention as well, might have led to more success in reducing drug consumption, these alternative approaches can, at best, reduce America’s drug problems slowly.²⁶

It is worth noting that the success of treatment and prevention is also dependent on how the enforcement has been implemented.²⁷ Since *Tokhang* is a form of enforcement, which already has proven to be the most expensive not only in terms of budget allocation but because the stakes are high—the lives of the Filipino people—the Philippine government could learn from the U.S. war on drugs. As Caulkins et al. noted, investigate and explore the ‘right tool for the job’ and how to promote their nonviolent programs, such as general intervention and community-based rehabilitation, which will be discussed further in section 2.4.1.

The government of the Philippines could learn from the U.S. example that setting its goal on what its war on drugs is trying to accomplish is an important step, but killing everyone involved in using and dealing illegal drugs will undoubtedly not result in a “drug-free society.”

²⁵ Jonathan Caulkins et al., “How Goes the “War on Drugs?” An Assessment of U.S. Drug Problems and Policy,” *RAND Drug Policy Research Center*, RAND Corporation, 2005.
https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2005/RAND_OP121.pdf (accessed April 30, 2018).

²⁶ Ibid, p. 17.

²⁷ Ibid.

The current administration had already managed to make the country feel a bit safer with its recent operations by cracking down on many drug syndicates, narco-politicians, and drug dealers. It did pay a high price: the lives of many people, offenders, police officers, and innocent victims including children. However, President Duterte's supporters are standing by his side and defending him against his political opposition critics, the Catholic Church, Human Rights Watch, the United Nations, and other countries and agencies that criticize his tactics and strategies.

In response to the human rights abuse allegations towards the current administration, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) on January 30, 2017, released a pastoral statement on drug-related killings. The bishops shared their concern and called upon "Filipinos and the faithful to follow the basic teachings of the church."²⁸ The pastoral letter is one of the many efforts of the CBCP and some Catholic Churches on peacebuilding.²⁹ Each statement appeals to the heart of every Filipino including the government officials and police officers implementing the law: Death is not the only solution to solve the problem of drugs. The ends will not justify the means. A good purpose will never be justified by doing something wrong. Every human being deserves a chance to change. Restorative justice could be promoted more to improve the penal and justice system.

As pointed out by Jarem Sawatsky in his book *The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice*, "What distinguishes restorative justice processes and outcomes is a change of values from those of state justice systems to those of respect, nonviolence, and

²⁸ "CBCP's Pastoral Statement vs Illegal Drugs, Killings," *Philstar Global*, February 5, 2017, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/02/05/1669324/full-text-cbcps-pastoral-statement-vs-illegal-drugs-killings> (accessed April 30, 2018).

²⁹ Gerard Clarke, Michael Jennings and Timothy Shaw, eds., *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

inclusion.”³⁰ Restorative justice is a “relationship-centered approach,”³¹ and as the Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime states in its article “Restorative Justice in Canada: what victims should know,” restorative justice is “a response to crime that focuses on restoring the losses suffered by victims, holding offenders accountable for the harm they have caused, and building peace within communities.”³² Responses such as these “focus on problem-solving and restoration of harmony,”³³ and “the holistic context of an offense is taken into consideration, including moral, social, economic, political and religious considerations.”³⁴ This does not mean that restorative justice is the only solution, but it would be good to include this option when the government promotes its community-based rehabilitation programs and other nonviolent intervention options to allow easier transition and mainstream integration of people recovering from drug addiction. Again, as concluded by Caulkins et al. in their research on the U.S. war on drugs, people choose options depending on their values.³⁵ Others may still opt for enforcement, some will choose treatment or prevention, but it is vital, as in any decision-making, to know which strategy is the most effective in resolving the drug problem with the least casualties.³⁶

2.1.2 War on Drugs in Colombia

Another country that also waged war on drugs, which failed and resulted in fatalities, incarcerations, and millions of dollars wasted in expenditures, was Colombia. Speaking from

³⁰ Jarem Sawatzky, *The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice: Studies from Hollow Water, The Iona Community, and Plum Village* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2009), p. 53.

³¹ Ibid, p.53.

³² Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime, “Restorative Justice in Canada: what victims should know,” PDF file, March 2011, <http://www.rjlilloet.ca/documents/restjust.pdf> (accessed February 5, 2019).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Jonathan Caulkins et al., “How Goes the “War on Drugs?” An Assessment of U.S. Drug Problems and Policy,” *RAND Drug Policy Research Center*, RAND Corporation, 2005. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2005/RAND_OP121.pdf (accessed April 30, 2018).

experiences, failures, and mistakes with regards to Colombia's war on drugs, César Gaviria, Colombia's former president (1990 to 1994) shared that

My government and every administration since threw everything at the problem—from fumigating crops to jailing every drug pusher in sight. Not only did we fail to eradicate drug production, trafficking and consumption in Colombia, but we also pushed drugs and crime into neighboring countries. And we created new problems. Tens of thousands of people were slaughtered in our antidrug crusade. Many of our brightest politicians, judges, police officers and journalists were assassinated. At the same time, the vast funds earned by drug cartels were spent to corrupt our executive, judicial and legislative branches of government.³⁷

Yet, after 30 years, Colombia remains one of the top producers of the coca leaves that are used to make cocaine.³⁸ Learning the hard way, as Gaviria noted in his message to the world and the Philippines' President Rodrigo Duterte (as published in the *New York Times* dated February 7, 2017):

Illegal drugs are a matter of national security, but the war against them cannot be won by armed forces and law enforcement agencies alone. Throwing more soldiers and police at the drug users is not just a waste of money but also can actually make the problem worse. Locking up non-violent offenders and drug users almost always backfires, instead strengthening organized crime.³⁹

Although Gaviria's government in 1993 seized Pablo Escobar, one of the notorious drug traffickers, and made Colombia's street feel a bit safer, it came with a tremendous price—many lives lost.⁴⁰ The Philippines' war on drugs is no different. While some of my friends in the Philippines would say, "The streets feel a bit safer now," that feeling of security cost over 12,000 lives, so it is problematic to say that Duterte has made the country safer when people are dying

³⁷ César Gaviria, "President Duterte is Repeating My Mistakes," *The New York Times*, February 7, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/07/opinion/president-duterte-is-repeating-my-mistakes.html> (accessed April 30, 2018).

³⁸ Jeff Canoy, "What Colombia has Learned from Decades-Long Drug War," *ABS CBN News*, September 26, 2016, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/focus/09/26/16/what-colombia-has-learned-from-decades-long-drug-war> (accessed, April 30, 2018).

³⁹ César Gaviria, "President Duterte is Repeating My Mistakes," *The New York Times*, February 7, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/07/opinion/president-duterte-is-repeating-my-mistakes.html> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

and scared for their lives. Gaviria also points out that “winning the fight against drugs requires addressing not only crime but also public health, human rights, and economic development.” He further explains that

There will always be drugs and drug users in the Philippines, but it is important to put the problem in perspective. Since the Philippines already has now a relatively low number of regular drug users, [I believe he is referring to the fact that nearly one million drug users surrendered], the application of severe penalties and extrajudicial violence against drug consumers makes it almost impossible for people with drug addiction problems to find treatment. Instead, they resort to dangerous habits and the criminal economy. Indeed, the criminalization of drug users runs counter to all available scientific evidence of what works.⁴¹

In this light, the Government of the Philippines can learn from the experiences and failures of Colombia and other countries in fighting drugs. Nothing good comes from any violent and hasty measures. Again, in RAND Corporation’s research, prevention and treatment proved to be a better option than enforcement: investing more in a solution that preserves life, meeting the threshold of supporting fundamental human rights, maintaining good service in public health, and strengthening the economy to create more jobs for a higher standard of living for the people. As Tagle also pleaded, the safety and welfare of the people ought to come first and care for human life should be the priority.

2.2 The Philippine Government’s Culture of Violence

A year or so before the 2016 election, many casualties and issues arose in the Philippines. Duterte shared with the news media his disappointment in the Aquino government’s reaction to the alleged bullet-planting (*tanim-bala*) extortion scheme⁴² at the Ninoy Aquino International

⁴¹ César Gaviria, “President Duterte is Repeating My Mistakes,” *The New York Times*, February 7, 2017.

⁴² Bullet-planting (*tanim-bala*) extortion scheme is a “scheme conducted by group of unscrupulous airport employees. They put one tiny bullet inside a passenger’s luggage, and ultimately extort money from the unlucky victims who would likely end up paying the scammers in order to avoid the hassle of missing their flights. Source: Ann H., “How Whistle-blower Reveals How “Laglag-Bala” Scammers Pick their Victims at NAIA,” *Elite Readers*,

Airport (NAIA),⁴³ and this, along with other factors, urged him to run for the Presidency.⁴⁴ The Aquino administration at that time was not able to solve the issue during its term. Another issue was the lack of action by the Aquino administration regarding the victims of Typhoon Haiyan.⁴⁵ The Filipino people had had enough of the Liberal party ruling the country for over 30 years, given the most recent failures of the party under Noynoy Aquino that promised the citizens reformation and change during campaigns but displayed a lack of action in time of need.⁴⁶ Dr. Nicole Curato, an award-winning sociologist at the University of Canberra, offers her insight on Duterte's popularity and his successful "penal populism." Building on the social capital of his fast action in Tacloban City during Typhoon Haiyan, he "[gave] voice to pre-existing frustrations as well as [giving] life to new possibilities for conducting electoral politics," disrupting an "electoral system that is partial to money and political machinery." Curato concluded that a harsher mechanism for social control addresses the public's demand to be tough on crime, and although this is not a democratic practice, the population was satisfied that crime offenders were considered enemies and should be eradicated.⁴⁷

President Duterte (who was the Mayor of Davao City at the time) and the Davao City volunteers were some of the first responders at the typhoon victims' site in Tacloban. The people saw how he made Davao a safe and progressive city. The people noted his immediate action and

<https://www.elitereaders.com/naia-source-disclosed-how-scammers-pick-their-targets-at-the-airport/?cn-reloaded=1> (accessed March 8, 2019).

⁴³ Katerina Francisco, "Timeline: Recent Cases of Alleged Bullet Scam in NAIA," *Rappler*, November 2, 2015, <https://www.rappler.com/nation/111475-naia-bullet-planting-scheme-victims> (accessed May 19, 2018).

⁴⁴ Catherine Valente and Jefferson Antiporda, "Yes, I'm running for President – Duterte," *The Manila Times*, November 23, 2015, <http://www.manilatimes.net/yes-im-running-for-president-duterte/230855/> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁴⁵ Alan Robles, "President Aquino's Handling of Typhoon Disaster under Scrutiny," *South China Morning Post*, November 17, 2013, <http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1357904/president-aquinos-handling-typhoon-disaster-under-scrutiny> (accessed May 19, 2018).

⁴⁶ Mark R. Thompson, "The Early Duterte Presidency in the Philippines," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2016), p. 11.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 6.

solutions to the current issues, his “iron fist” management style, and many decided it was what the people of the Philippines needed. Duterte was known for his tough stance against crime and illegal drugs,⁴⁸ and he made these priorities as soon as he took office. One of Duterte’s most important tasks as mayor of Davao City was the war on drugs. Despite the many accusations of human rights violations and extra-judicial killings, he was able to create a drug-free city and eradicate criminality successfully. He built a drug rehabilitation and treatment centre which provided 24-hour services and offered a ₱2,000 monthly allowance to drug addicts who voluntarily surrendered and promised to change their habits.⁴⁹

Duterte has a background involving law and politics. He was known for his “iron fist” style of leadership and his foul mouth, but how he managed to gain the support of the majority of the Filipino people is something of a mystery. Among the five presidential candidates in the 2016 election, according to Ronald D. Holmes (a Ph.D. candidate at the Australian National University and president of Pulse Asia Research), Duterte had the “clearest message regarding criminality and the pervasiveness of drugs.”⁵⁰ He gained traction with his law-and-order messaging and with his fight against illegal drugs.⁵¹ Duterte’s kind of leadership showed the Filipino people that he would actively pursue criminals to the point of killing them in order to protect the “obedient and dutiful” citizens.⁵² This strategy helped him win the president’s seat although “no other Philippine president has ever won office with the promise to kill criminals, implemented his promise and enjoyed such support.”⁵³ Reyes adds that “in Duterte’s regime

⁴⁸ Catherine Valente and Jefferson Antiporda, “Yes, I’m running for President – Duterte,” November 23, 2015.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Mark R. Thompson, “The Early Duterte Presidency in the Philippines,” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2016), p. 5.

⁵² Danilo Andres Reyes, “The Spectacle of Violence in Duterte’s ‘War on Drugs,’” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2016), pp. 111–137.

⁵³ Ibid.

there is a rupture between the ‘right to life,’ which the State has a formal obligation to protect, and the power of the president to make political decisions regarding who can be killed.”⁵⁴

Duterte’s greatest supporters were those from the elite and middle classes whose major concern was safety.⁵⁵ These people were driven by their anger about rising crime rates, continued corruption, poor government and public services, and inadequate infrastructure.⁵⁶ The “true-change” (*tunay na pagbabago*) slogan used during Duterte’s campaign appealed to Filipinos who hungered for change in leadership, in crime levels, and for a drug-free Philippines. These Filipinos felt that they needed a president who could form a “capable team” to lead the country to success—a leader who would do whatever it took to eradicate crime, drugs, and corruption, even to the point of costing lives.⁵⁷

2.3 Drug Dealers’ and Users’ Culture of Violence

For over three decades, the Liberal party ruled the Philippines, and the people watched as the condition of the country went from bad to worse in terms of social equality. “The poor become poorer, and the rich become richer.” I can still clearly remember when the streets were much safer, when kids could still play outside, and when you could walk alone late at night, but things have changed. You cannot even take your mobile phone out for fear that someone will snatch it from your hands. I can still feel the hands of the robber around my own neck when he snatched my necklace while I was sitting on a public bus. Once, a close friend experienced having a gun pointed at her forehead for her cell phone. The worst was when a friend shared that

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Mark R. Thompson, “The Early Duterte Presidency in the Philippines,” pp. 5-6.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Randy David, “Dutertismo or Clearheaded Patriotism,” *Inquirer*, May 8, 2016, <http://opinion.inquirer.net/94649/dutertismo-or-clearheaded-patriotism> (accessed April 30, 2018).

someone she knew jumped from a moving passenger van after some ‘junkies’ raped her inside the van, in broad daylight. Criminals rule the country, and people feel powerless. Any Filipino can tell you about a person they know, a relative, or even their own experiences of being a victim of violence by drug users. I think these circumstances led some Filipinos to lack of compassion and sympathy, especially for drug addicts, which then resulted in the spiralling culture of violence in the country. President Duterte cited the infamous massacre by drug-addicts of a family of five, including a one-year-old child; government officials, including church leaders, had been silent.⁵⁸ Filipinos feel helpless and frustrated. Drug-related crimes and deaths are not a surprise to the people, who feel as though it is just a matter of time before such things happen to them or someone they know.

Louis Ferrante presented a documentary through the Discovery Channel about gang life inside New *Bilibid* Prison⁵⁹ and outside the prison in the Philippines, and how dangerous narcotics have been a part of it.⁶⁰ He shared how the culture of violence rules and is even rewarded. The more ferocious a person is, the more he is suited to be the gang leader. Ferrante narrated how these people survive and thrive inside and outside the facility. The documentary also showed some of the perks of being a gang leader: an air-conditioned room, an office with a big flat screen TV, and “king-like” treatment.⁶¹ Anyone can get killed inside the prison if he or she is not part of a gang that could protect them. The culture of violence has been part of survival both for people inside and outside prison. Somehow, President Duterte’s current status as a president and his popularity can relate to the Filipino people’s fear of violence, which is

⁵⁸ Nestor Corrales, “Duterte Hits Church Silence on Killing Rampage of Drug Addicts,” *Inquirer*, September 1, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/927319/duterte-hits-churchs-silence-on-killing-of-innocent-victims-by-drug-addicts> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁵⁹ *Bilibid* is the Tagalog word for prison. New Bilibid Prison is a penitentiary in Muntinlupa City, Philippines.

⁶⁰ Nong Velasco, “Discovery Channels - Inside the Gangster Code s01 e02 – The Commandos,” Filmed [December 19, 2013]. YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pgSbm5FrdBY> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

ironically being reciprocated by the current administration's violent way of eradicating drug-related crimes. Reyes shares in his article "The Spectacle of Violence in Duterte's 'War on Drugs,'"

The Philippine president divides Filipinos into two groups: the drug dealers, addicts and criminals—who are seen as violent law breakers, dangers to social welfare and obstructions to economic development—and law-abiding and God-fearing persons, who are viewed as victims of violence, the human resources for economic development, and the basis of the well-being of future generations. Duterte has been explicit about the need to eliminate the first group in order to protect the second.⁶²

As Reyes highlights, it is worth noting that Duterte implies that he would protect the "law-abiding and God-fearing people" even if that would mean eliminating the criminals, which can relate to the introductory part of this thesis—even though more than 80 percent of the Philippines population are Roman Catholics, most Filipinos continue to support the war on drugs. Duterte's action surely divides the country and gives a clear message that the ends justify the means. It then legitimizes the current government's action that killing the 'bad guys' is the right thing to do in order to serve its mandate to protect the good citizens. As I noted at the beginning of chapter two, drug use and abuse problems have been around since the 1600s. They also thrived during the last three decades, until *Tokhang* created a dent in this illegal drug trafficking business. President Duterte is now exterminating 'drug dealers and users,' but as Santiago, Gordon, and Cana state in their article, "Kill Them All: The Government's War on Drugs," "without the corresponding reforms in the criminal justice system, any positive impact of his mass killings on the campaign against drug trafficking and other crimes will be unsustainable."⁶³

⁶² Danilo Andres Reyes, "The Spectacle of Violence in Duterte's 'War on Drugs,'" 2016, p. 117.

⁶³ Martin Kevin Santiago, John Constantine Cordon, and Aldrin Jose Cana, "Kill them All: The Government's War on Drugs," *The Bedan Review*, Vol. V, (n.d.).

2.4 Government's and Non-Government Organizations' Initiatives

In January 2017, the Duterte administration suspended the war on drugs operation and launched a campaign to weed out the 'bad cops.'⁶⁴ It was relaunched as "Reloaded *Tokhang*" on January 29, 2018. Some of the new features of the campaign were the police who supposedly have now undergone rigorous training.⁶⁵ Second, to legitimize police operations, police will only conduct their business during office hours on weekdays wearing proper police uniforms.⁶⁶ Third, the police will only knock on the doors of suspects based on "verified intelligence reports."⁶⁷ Also, the police can invite the media, church groups, and members of civil society to monitor or even join the *Tokhang* operations.⁶⁸ The police were encouraged to bring religious materials such as the Bible or holy rosary so that the drug suspects might peacefully surrender.⁶⁹ This guideline of bringing religious items also caused a disagreement between the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) where the latter accused the police of "resorting to theatrics in bringing Bibles and rosaries while conducting *Tokhang* operations."⁷⁰ As a Catholic, I revere these religious symbols and bringing them into *Tokhang* operations looks like a desperate move. However, PNP Chief Ronald Dela Rosa shared his sentiment that the "Catholic Church is not only for the clergy" asserting that the bishops thought, "Because you are priests you are the ones who are holy and that we are sinners, we have no right

⁶⁴ Yuji Vincent Gonzales, "PNP: War of Drugs, Suspended, Purge Off Bad Cops On," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, January 30, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/866507/pnp-war-on-drugs-suspended-purge-of-bad-cops-on> (accessed April 29, 2018).

⁶⁵ Mong Palatino, "Duterte's Drug War in the Philippines: New Campaign, Old Problems," *The Diplomat*, February 6, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/dutertes-drug-war-in-the-philippines-new-campaign-old-problems/> (accessed May 4, 2018).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ CNN Philippines Staff, "PNP Chief: Use of Religious Items in Anti-drug Campaigns Not Theatrics," *CNN Philippines*, February 5, 2018, <http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2018/02/05/ronald-dela-rosa-pnp-religious-items-cbcp-oplan-tokhang-theatrics.html> (accessed October 5, 2018).

to hold a Bible and wear a rosary.”⁷¹ Since the majority of the population in the Philippines are Roman Catholics, it can be assumed that even the PNP and all those who suffer from drug addiction hail from a Catholic background, which would mean that these religious symbols could have an influential role during the conflict; however, most Catholics would argue that these religious symbols are sacred and wouldn’t support the idea of using them for the purpose suggested by the PNP. Although I do not say that I agree with Dela Rosa’s sentiment, I can appreciate his arguments. Chapter three will address how religion, especially Catholic teachings, plays an important role in the lives of many Filipinos.

On the other hand, Fr. Jerome Secillano, CBCP executive secretary of the Committee on Public Affairs, believed that “bringing those religious items during police operations is good only for theatrics. They are not essentially necessary, and the police should follow the guidelines set with or without the use of religious items.”⁷² Many Catholics supported Fr. Jerome and agreed that bringing religious materials on *Tokhang* operations appeared to be inappropriate for the same reason expressed earlier by the CBCP to the PNP. Also, many argue that inviting media and church groups could also endanger the lives of these people.

The irony here is that despite the alleged human rights violations and violent killings, Duterte still has consistently high trust ratings and the support of Filipinos because he provides a “Strict Father Model” that they admire. George Lakoff explains that the “Strict Father Model” corresponds to a “paternalistic” view that it is the father’s responsibility to look after his household, support the family, and express his devotion to them.⁷³ It is also the father’s duty to protect the family and teach the children what is right and wrong and to punish them when they

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ George Lakoff, “Metaphor, Morality, and Politics, or, Why Conservatives have left Liberals in the Dust,” 1995, <http://www.wwcd.org/issues/Lakoff.html#STRICT> (accessed October 12, 2018).

make a mistake.⁷⁴ Lakoff adds that in this model, the father teaches the children to be self-disciplined and to respect authority.⁷⁵ For the strict father, “strictness is a form of nurturance and love—tough love.”⁷⁶ This metaphor of a strict father is the image that most Filipinos associate with President Duterte. As the father of the nation, he needs to protect his children (the citizens) and punish those who make a mistake, and that this is an act of love. The faith-inspired women peacebuilders see themselves as an ‘antidote’ for this model. If Duterte is the ‘strict father’ who disciplines the children, the faith-inspired women are the nurturing mothers that care for them. They act as a reminder to the current administration that in instilling discipline, there is always a nonviolent alternative.

When I spoke to many people in the Philippines, they shared with me that the situation now is much better as far as the country’s safety and security is concerned, which has always been Duterte’s goal. I myself experienced the difference. When I visited the Philippines in 2013, I could not even use my mobile phone in public because someone would snatch it from me. Also, I remember my friend’s experience when someone pointed a gun at her forehead for her mobile phone. I knew not to bring valuables or any more cash than I intended to use, for my own safety. I was scared to use public transportation because it was not safe. In July 2018, two years after President Duterte started his term, the streets felt safer to me. I could use my mobile phone anywhere. I used public transportation; in fact, I even arrived at Manila International Airport at midnight and commuted from there to my sister’s place. I had my luggage and valuables with me during that time. For almost a month of staying in the Philippines, commuting, and visiting people, the streets felt safer indeed than during my previous visit in 2013.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Returning to my earlier question, what price did government pay for this feeling of safety? With Duterte's alleged involvement on human rights violations, would he be willing to promote more of the government's nonviolent solutions to resolve the issues on illegal drugs in the Philippines? I think this feeling of 'safety or danger' was paid for by the lives of over 12,000 people that were lost since 2016. This feeling of safety was also paid for by their families, and is it worth it? Establishing the goal of this war on drugs is important. If there are nonviolent solutions, are they not worth pursuing, especially given that RAND Corporation has already established in its report that prevention and treatment is a better option than enforcement?

2.4.1 General Intervention and Community-Based Rehabilitation

Tanya Schwarz expresses in her book *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* that her "interactions with FBO representatives revealed a kind of skepticism [...] that these representatives felt misunderstood."⁷⁷ I think this reflects how I feel, and how most government representatives involved in the war on drugs feel. The government has some programs and initiatives other than *Tokhang*. This is just one of the programs that the current administration initiated when the President declared war on drugs on July 1, 2016. These other interventions and rehabilitation programs, although great initiatives, were never highlighted by the media because this would not get much attention from the international community. Whether that is the administration's tactic or its political opponents,' no one can tell. According to Melba Vera Cruz, an on-call consultant for the Department of Health in Naga City and one of the research participants, these intervention and community-based rehabilitation programs are being implemented in Naga and the rest of Bicol region. Moreover, a memorandum on implementation

⁷⁷ Tanya Schwarz, *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd, 2018), p. 189.

of the community-based rehabilitation program (CBRP) was circulated on September 26, 2017, to Provincial Governors, City and Municipal Mayors, Department of Interior and Local Government Regional Directors, and all others concerned, to implement all procedures and to report all progress on a monthly basis.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, with my limited stay in the Philippines, I did not have a chance to verify whether these programs are being implemented nationwide or in other parts of the country the same way as in Naga City. That information is not available elsewhere either. My understanding is that as per the memorandum, each area should implement these interventions, but they may have different ways of doing so. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) states that “The Journey of the people affected by Drug Use and Dependence through the Treatment and Rehabilitation system Begins and Ends in the Community.”⁷⁹ So, as the Philippines face this war on drugs, what can each community do to end this war and allow people to reintegrate with each other? This is where the role of faith-inspired women peacebuilders who are currently in a position to lead can be leveraged. One of the participants in this thesis is a health care professional, and another is an elected government official. Employing their current roles combined with their faith convictions, these peacebuilders have the opportunity to make sure that these nonviolent government programs, as well as the community generated ones, are implemented to their full potential. FBOs’ role in helping the victims reintegrate in the community is crucial to the success of the government’s intervention and rehabilitation program.

Shaira Marise Letada, a registered nurse, shares that

⁷⁸ “Implementation of Community-Based Rehabilitation Program (CBRP),” *Department of the Interior and Local Government*, September 26, 2017, <https://www.dilg.gov.ph/issuances/mc/Implementation-of-Community-Based-Rehabilitation-Program-CBRP/2583> (accessed February 3, 2019).

⁷⁹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, as cited by Shaira Marise E. Letada, RN, Nurse II, “General Intervention For “Low Risk” Drug Users,” *Lecture Presentation*, (n.d.).

General Intervention (GI) is psychoeducation sessions designed to motivate “low risk” drug users to change their behaviour. It is composed of four sessions of the primary program (Session 1: Feedback, Orientation, and Contract Signing; Session 2: Psycho-education of Family and Client; Session 3: Evaluation and Referral; and Session 4: Awarding of Certificate of Completion (for the GI Primary Program)) and three months of After Care Program.⁸⁰

Who are “Low-Risk Drug Users?” Nurse Shaira indicated that they are clients who may have tried taking illegal drugs and have stopped using them for a long period.⁸¹ They may be first-time users or ‘experimenters’ who show no indication of substance use disorder.⁸² GI is conducted to encourage and support, and to educate because this is cost effective.⁸³ These four sessions under the primary program are done thoroughly and consistently with all clients to make sure that they do not fall into a more serious category than “low-risk drug users.” Clients and family get proper orientation, they get a better education to understand the effects of drug use and abuse, and they receive proper monitoring to make sure that they do not miss sessions. Clients who miss sessions without a valid and acceptable reason will be visited at home, might receive an additional session, or might be urged to repeat the entire program or move into a different one. In session three, clients will be sent for evaluation and aftercare referral. Based on the evaluation, clients might be referred to the following: After Care Program Technical Skills Enhancement, Livelihood Training Activities, Educational Programs, Civic and Environmental Awareness Activities, Job Placement/Employment, Faith-based Organizations, and Support Groups.⁸⁴ The After Care Program is a relapse prevention and community reintegration program to enable these clients to get back on their feet and find meaningful things to do. Again, including faith-based

⁸⁰ Shaira Marise E. Letada, RN, Nurse II, “General Intervention For “Low Risk” Drug Users,” *Lecture Presentation*, (n.d.).

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

organizations as part of the government's aftercare program acknowledges the importance of faith and spirituality in the process of rehabilitation.

It should be noted that the government included faith-based structured programs as part of its intervention, which is clear evidence that it does not discredit the value of the spiritual or faith aspect of healing. Letada adds that "Mild Surrendering Drugs Users (Mild SDU)" do not qualify for General Intervention anymore because these clients are considered recreational users and have mild substance use disorder.⁸⁵ "Mild SDUs" are then referred to Community-Based Rehabilitation (CBR).

CBR is a consolidated model of treatment in the community and creates empowerment of local people to initiate action on their own. This program involves a high degree of participation of the members of the community in project planning and implementation. CBR relies on the grassroots initiative and the capacity to continue progress without depending on national interventions. CBR is composed of twenty-four sessions of Primary Care and six months of After Care Program.⁸⁶

The CBR is somewhat similar to GI in terms of format, but with more sessions. Mild SDUs follow a community-based model called "SUBI" or Substance Use and Brain Injury.⁸⁷ This module explains the effects of drugs and alcohol, helps the client focus on thoughts, feelings, and substance use, and teaches them how to say no to drugs and cope with cravings. There are sessions for journaling, which allow them to express their feelings. The module trains them to be in groups too and make the most of their brain power. Building self-esteem, healthy relationships, and a support network are other foci as well as sessions on problem-solving, coping with strong feelings, and relaxation. In their final session, clients are directed to set their own goals and learn from lapses.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

The Dangerous Drugs Board (DDB) Office of the President created a board regulation no. 4, series of 2016 *OPLAN SAGIP* (or Operation Plan to Save) guidelines on voluntary surrender of drug users and dependents and monitoring mechanism of barangay anti-drug abuse campaigns.⁸⁸ This guideline was created to

establish specific procedures to be followed by national government agencies, law enforcement agencies, anti-drug abuse councils (ADACs) of local government units and cause-oriented non-government organizations in dealing with drug personalities who voluntarily surrendered to authorities and were assessed as drug users or dependents. In this manner, this guideline will also provide a mechanism to monitor compliance with RA 9165 and other related guidelines issued by the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG) pertaining to the campaign against the use of illegal drugs in the barangay level.⁸⁹

Both GI and CBR are great government initiatives to assist drug users; however, these two programs are only directed at low risk and mild drug users. Aside from these two categories, there are also moderate and severe clients. “Moderate drug users surrenderees” are referred to health facility-based outpatient treatment and rehabilitation accredited by the Department of Health (DOH) which involves behavioural modification programs or psychotherapy intervention, relapse prevention and harm minimalization, a matrix intensive outpatient program, moral or spiritual/faith-based structured interventions, counselling, life enhancement skills, educational programs, and livelihood training activities.⁹⁰ The clients are strictly monitored and must report for the outpatient program on a specified date and time to be able to complete the module. “Severe drug users surrenderees” are subjected to inpatient treatment and rehabilitation. These clients need detoxification, drug treatment and rehabilitation, relapse prevention, residential care in mental health facilities, therapeutic community programs, faith-based structured programs, 12-

⁸⁸ Benjamin P. Reyes, “Board Regulation No. 4 Series of 2016,” *Republic of the Philippines Office of the President Dangerous Drugs Board*, September 19, 2016, Quezon City.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

step programs, eclectic programs or even jail time if they have pending cases.⁹¹ If surrenderees avail themselves of these programs, they must submit to voluntary confinement for drug treatment and rehabilitation as provided for in section 54 of the act and regulation no. 3, series of 2007 of the Board.⁹²

These guidelines and interventions sound promising if we can be sure that they are being implemented consistently. Melba shared that in Camarines Sur (Region V- Bicol region), with an estimated population of 5.79 million as of the August 2015 Census of population,⁹³ there are approximately 26,000 surrenderees. This number is yet to be classified according to the severity of cases in order to direct the clients to the proper intervention needed. A licensed psychologist with proper training is required to classify those who voluntarily surrender, and this is where the lack of a capable team to handle such a vast influx might be encountered. If this is true in one of the regions, it might hold true in other regions as well. Unfortunately, that information is not available.

In contrast, what happens to those who will not surrender voluntarily? *Oplan Sagip* should be promoted more so that drug users or families of these drug dependents know what option is available for them or their loved ones. They have an opportunity to voluntarily surrender and change rather than fight the law enforcers and endanger themselves and their families.

In fact, one of the Community-Based Treatment and Rehabilitation Models is *SIPAG* (*Simula ng Pag-asa* or Start from Hope). *SIPAG* Drug Rehab Program was launched in Quezon

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ “Population of Region V – Bicol (Based on the 2015 Census of Population),” *Philippine Statistic Authority*, June 4, 2016, <https://psa.gov.ph/content/population-region-v-bicol-based-2015-census-population> (accessed August 23, 2018)

City in October 2018 and was led by Christ's Commission Fellowship (CCF). *SIPAG* has family-focused topics such as God's Design for Families, Forgiveness in the Family, Rebuilding Trust in the Family, and Family as a Team. This kind of program is different from secular peacebuilding as Maryann Cusimano Love explains that faith-inspired peacebuilding draws their peace work by embracing Catholic Social Teaching principles⁹⁴ which plays a significant role for most Filipinos because of its Roman Catholic population.

I think that the Dangerous Drugs Board (DDB) acknowledged that when they approached the CCF Leadership to help them in the recovery program of the surrenderees. DDB believes that there is a better success rate when faith-based organizations are involved in recovery programs.⁹⁵ Part of the sessions on recovery is for attendees to admit that they did something wrong and acknowledge that they need help. They have to resist the urge to go back to this bad habit and work to change for a better future.⁹⁶

Hopeburst (*Gawad Kalinga*) is another non-government organization that partnered with Dangerous Drugs Board Community-Based Treatment and Rehabilitation Model. Their program involves interviews, seminars, sessions on personal growth, family dialogues, counselling, testimonies, individual and group activities, involvement in community projects, a buddy system, the establishment of support groups, and monitoring.⁹⁷

In Angono, Rizal, *Ganap sa Paglalakbay Tungo sa Bagong Buhay* (Total Journey Towards a Changed Life) is another community-based program. Once the patient has been assessed, they are referred to either a Community-Based or Residential Treatment and

⁹⁴ Maryann Cusimano Love, "Catholic Women Building Peace: Invisibility, Ideas, and Institutions Expand Participations," in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

⁹⁵ "Christ Commission Fellowship CCF SIPAG Drug Rehab Program 1/2," *Civika Asian Development Academy*, September 15, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JoDPgiBe2_Y (accessed August 28, 2018).

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ "Dangerous Drugs Board," *Lecture Presentation*, Board Regulation No. 4, Series of 2016, OPLAN SAGIP, (n.d.).

Rehabilitation program depending on the severity of the case. Clients have to attend seminars on Penal Provisions of RA 9165, Drug Situations in the Philippines, Effects of Drug Abuse, Stress Management, and Faith Recovery.⁹⁸ They undergo a detoxification program for one hour per day for five weeks.⁹⁹ To help with their livelihood, they are given cash for work rendered, employment referral, technical skills and livelihood training.¹⁰⁰ Finally, they have to do mandatory drug testing to make sure they are ready to reintegrate in the community. This partnership is an acknowledgement on the part of DDB that they will not be able to sustain this war on drugs and that they need help from every sector and agency in the community.

As for the government, I would disagree that they have employed their best efforts yet. It is evident that the problem persists and despite the implementation of nonviolent government programs, the number of people who have died since July 1, 2016, continues to increase.¹⁰¹ And, although the government's report as of August 2018 data says that the casualties decreased from the average 100 deaths per week during the first three months of the anti-drug campaign to 23 cases per week,¹⁰² these deaths only prove that the government could still do better.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ CNN Philippines Staff, "Drug War Death Toll Lower in 2018, says PNP," *CNN Philippines*, August 17, 2018, <http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2018/08/17/drug-war-death-toll-2018.html> (accessed February 3, 2019).

¹⁰² Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE - The Role of Religion in the Philippines

Kristine Fitzpatrick explained in her thesis “Religion and Spanish Colonialism in the Philippines,” that archeological records showed that some kind of religious practices or beliefs were already part of the Philippines even before the Spanish Colonizers arrived.¹ Despite the differences in beliefs, there were similarities in rituals, culture, and ideas—conducting burial practices properly and “concerned with the treatment of their dead” were just a few factors that made it easier for the Spanish colonizers to take control.² For over three hundred years (1521-1898), Filipinos adopted Catholicism as their religion, which still proves to be vital with more than 85 percent of the country’s population identifying as Catholics. In Cheryl Burkhardt’s report “The Position of the Catholic Church in Political and Social Relations of the Philippines,” she explains how the Catholic Church continues to have a voice in political decisions in the country and utilizes its influence in the government and even in the personal lives of Filipinos.³ Catholic teachings or biblical scriptures have a distinct effect on the Filipino people. Government leaders know the political and social influence of the Catholic Church, which was evident during the People Power Revolution in 1986 on Edsa (also known as Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, a highway in Manila).⁴ The Catholic Church and the Marcos administration at the time of Martial Law had many issues due to human rights controversies. Through the leadership of Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin, priests, nuns, and other religious leaders urged Filipinos to gather around Edsa for a mass demonstration and prayers. This church leadership help prevented the spilling of

¹ Kristine Fitzpatrick, “Religion and Spanish Colonialism in the Philippines,” *BS Thesis*, Department of Sociology and Archaeology, University of Wisconsin – La Crosse, Princess – Campana: SCRIBD, 2013 (Publication No. 357125392).

² Ibid.

³ Cheryl Burkhardt, “The Position of the Catholic Church in Political and Social Relations of the Philippines,” *Academia*, University of the Philippines Diliman, 2011(Publication No. 1206897).

⁴ Ibid.

blood and ousted President Ferdinand Marcos. The People Power Revolution was not the only time that the Catholic Church stepped up and used its influence. Cardinal Sin, with the support of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines, appealed to President Joseph Estrada to vacate his post during his plunder controversy.⁵ Aside from major political influence, the Catholic Church also has interests in public policy discourse. Lisa Sowle Cahill, in her article “Catholicism, Ethics and Health Care Policy,” points out that there is an attempt to influence “social attitudes” towards issues in health care—reproductive health choices are just one of the many examples.⁶ She added that

The Church’s moral positions have the potential to shape public discussion and policy only to the extent that they can be put forward in terms which are accessible and convincing to citizens in general, including those who do not accept the specifically religious authority of Roman Catholicism.⁷

This kind of attempt is evident in the Philippines too. One concrete example is the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act of 2012 (R.A. 10354), most commonly known as RH (Reproductive Health) Law in the Philippines. Eric Marcelo Genilo, SJ, explains in his article “The Catholic Church and the Reproductive Health Bill Debate: The Philippine Experience” that before the passage of RH Law in 2012, “previous attempts in the last 14 years to pass a reproductive health law have failed because of the oppositions of the Catholic Bishops [in the Philippines].”⁸ Genilo added that the passage of R.A. 10354 was “viewed by some Filipinos as a stunning failure for the Church and a sign of its diminished influence on Philippine society.”⁹ Even after the passing of the law, the debate between the government and the Church continued,

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Lisa Sowle Cahill, “Catholicism, Ethics, and Health Care Policy,” *The Catholic Lawyer*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Article 4 (1988), pp. 38-54.

⁷ Ibid, p.53.

⁸ Eric Marcelo O. Genilo, SJ, “The Catholic Church and the Reproductive Health Bill Debate: The Philippine Experience,” *The Heythrop Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 66 (2014), pp. 1044-1055.

⁹ Ibid, p. 1044.

and there are still many issues that remained unsolved, such as abortion, population control and mandatory reproductive health education.¹⁰ Whether it is true that the Church's influence was diminished in the passing of the RH Law, it is evident that women, children, and families are put in the line if it is not properly implemented. In this regard, it is important to note Lisa Sowle Cahill's points in her presentation "The Ethics of Coming into the World" that "we, the church, are called to make a difference."¹¹ She expresses that as partners, we do better in advocating for justice, protecting and supporting vulnerable children, women, and families.¹² On many occasions, the Catholic Church, not only in the Philippines but in many countries, has provided services for immigrants and asylum seekers, indicating that there were numerous times that they used their influence to promote justice and human dignity. Looking back, religion, and Catholicism, in particular, has a long history in the Philippines. It has been part of and is still a part of, most Filipino people's day-to-day experience—in traditions, celebrations, politics, education, economics, health, and other major or minor decisions in life. It is very evident that the Catholic Church plays a significant role in the lives of most Filipinos such as in reproductive health choices or even when considering which political party to support. In that regard, the religious background of the Philippines is active in the current war on drugs, and the Catholic Church could not remain silent, especially since lives are at stake. From July 1, 2016, to June 16, 2017, the Philippine National Police dealt with 12,833 homicide cases; 2,098 of these were drug-related, 2,535 were not, and the rest are still under investigation.¹³ Given these numbers, it is no

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 1047.

¹¹ Lisa Sowle Cahill, "The Ethics of Coming into the World," *Lecture*, Boston College, MA, June 20, 2018, http://www.academyforlife.va/content/dam/pav/documenti%20pdf/2018/Assemblea2018/workshop/03_Cahill%20-%20paper%20June%2018%20clean%20copy.pdf (accessed September 29, 2018).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Tricia Aquino, "Tagle Reflects on Why Some Catholics Accept Drug-Related Killings," *InterAksyon*, July 5, 2017, <http://www.interaksyon.com/cardinal-tagle-reflects-on-why-some-catholics-accept-drug-related-killings/> (accessed August 26, 2018).

surprise that many people resort to desperate measures; an eye for an eye, a life for a life. In a press conference at the Philippine Conference on New Evangelization (PCNE), Cardinal Luis Antonio Gokim Tagle, who is the 32nd Archbishop of Manila and serves as the President of Caritas International,¹⁴ shared some of his theories on why he thinks most Filipinos support the war on drugs. Tagle stated that “some people believed the end justifies the means,”¹⁵ which can relate to my statement earlier about the cost that the Filipinos have to pay to have the feeling of safety. Tagle shared that based on his interviews with people, he came to these conclusions:

Most believe that life is sacred. The Filipino believes that life is sacred. The Filipino believes that killing is wrong. Most of the people knew what the teachings were but seem like it comes from what we can call helplessness. People felt there’s no solution anywhere you go and nobody is doing anything. Families and neighbourhood had been plagued by that problem. It’s not out of moral conviction. It’s more out of despair.¹⁶

The Manila Archbishop explained that people had been “pushed too far, and in their misery, found a brutal solution that they had no other option but to try.”¹⁷ He shared that he felt sorry for those people and the spark of inner conflict they must feel when part of them says life is sacred, while another part of them ignores this.¹⁸ They have been through so much suffering, especially the parents whose children got hooked on drugs, and they are so furious with those who sold drugs to their loved ones that their previous convictions are overturned.¹⁹ Nothing seems to be working for them, including the institution, the system, so they think, “Maybe this is

¹⁴ Caritas International is a “confederation of more than 160 Catholic relief organizations that work to end poverty, promote justice, and restore the dignity of the most vulnerable, regardless of race or religion.” Source: Elizabeth Rankin, “Philippine Cardinal Tagle to Receive Ford Family Notre Dame Award for International Development and Solidarity,” *Kellogg Institute for International Studies*, February 22, 2017, <https://kellogg.nd.edu/news/philippine-cardinal-tagle-receive-ford-family-notre-dame-award-human-development-and-solidarity> (accessed December 3, 2018).

¹⁵ Tricia Aquino, “Tagle Reflects on Why Some Catholics Accept Drug-Related Killings,” July 5, 2017.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

it. This is the solution we have been looking for,” concluded the Archbishop.²⁰ Sometimes, people are left with no options but to accept situations that are against their beliefs or principles. Before the war on drugs began, the rate of “crimes committed against others” (including robbery, theft, murder, homicide, rape, and carjacking) was high and rampant. When Duterte started his term, crimes related to these incidents dropped by 31.67 percent.²¹ The main reason that Duterte continuously receives support and trust from most Filipinos is simply that to them, their streets feel safer. On the other hand, as a result of this war on drugs, the murder rates have gone up. The death of criminals never meant that drug-related crimes would end, and there is no guarantee that all drug-related deaths are legitimate, and certainly not those labelled as “collateral damage.”

Tagle offered insights and new approaches to save and promote life at the conference on July 28 to 30, 2017 at the University of Santo Tomas. He said that these kinds of conferences are timely to call for a stop to the killings. He shared that one of the sessions was called “It’s a Beautiful Life: Human Dignity, Reloaded.”²² This session title implies the importance of human dignity, which seems to have been forgotten due to the rising number of deaths associated with the war on drugs. The president of the Vatican’s Pontifical Council for the Promotion of New Evangelization, Archbishop Salvatore Rino Fisichella, attended the same conference and delivered a keynote message on “Being Christian in the Age of Indifference.” Meanwhile, Archbishop Bernardito Auza, the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations, talked about “The role of the Church in a community of nations.”²³ These sessions and events reminded the people what it means to be Christian and were a great reminder that life is sacred.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ “PNP: Crime Rate Down, but Murder Rate Up,” *ABS-CBN News*, December 19, 2016, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/news/12/19/16/pnp-crime-rate-down-but-murder-rate-up> (accessed July 15, 2017).

²² Tricia Aquino, “Tagle Reflects on Why Some Catholics Accept Drug-Related Killings,” July 5, 2017.

²³ Ibid.

“Life for a life” (Deuteronomy 19:21) is not a solution; killing a drug addict will not stop drug problems in the Philippines. Tagle says he believes that people still have respect for life and that perhaps PCNE can help by strengthening the faith and keeping hope alive. He said that “when we lose hope, we hold on to just about anything.”²⁴ Tagle was proclaimed *Peace Awardee for 2018* by the Rotary Club of Makati-San Lorenzo in celebration of the 113th anniversary of Rotary International.²⁵ Aside from his peacebuilding award, he also received the Ford Family Notre Dame Award for Human Development and Solidarity on March 24, 2017.²⁶ Tagle’s works as the president of Caritas International²⁷ and his love for “the poor”²⁸ is worth noting why he was chosen as the recipient of the awards mentioned.²⁹ Also, Rev. Robert Dowd, CSC, director of the Ford Family Program in Human Development Studies and Solidarity, who presented the award to Tagle expresses,

He [Tagle] has been a tireless champion of the poor, as much by example as by word. He opens his home to the homeless and eats with them in his house. He spends time listening

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Jaime Cura, “Tagle Conferred 2018 Rotary Peace Award,” *Epistolorium*, March 17, 2018, <https://fsdpi.org/2018/03/17/cardinal-luis-antonio-tagle-conferred-peace-awardee-for-2018/> (accessed May 19, 2018).

²⁶ Elizabeth Rankin, “Tagle,” *The Daily Domer*, March 3, 2017, <https://dailydomer.nd.edu/news/cardinal-luis-antonio-gokim-tagle/> (accessed May 4, 2018).

²⁷ See notes on p. 49.

²⁸ One of the themes of Catholic Social Teaching is preferential option for the poor. From the Scriptures we learn that “the justice of a society is tested and judged by its treatment of the poor. God’s covenant with Israel was dependant on the way the community treated the poor and unprotected—the widow, the orphan and the stranger (Deut. 16.11-12, Ex. 22.21-27, Isa. 1.16-17). Throughout Israel’s history and in the New Testament, the poor are agents of God’s transforming power. In the gospel of Luke, Jesus proclaims that he has been anointed to bring good news to the poor (4.1-22). Similarly, in the Last Judgment, we are told that we will be judged according to how we respond to the hungry, the thirsty, the prisoner and the stranger (Matthew 25.31-46). As followers of Christ, we are challenged to make a preferential option for the poor, namely, to create conditions for marginalized voices to be heard, to defend the defenseless, and to assess lifestyles, policies and social institutions in terms of their impact on the poor. The option for the poor does not mean pitting one group against another, but rather, it calls us to strengthen the whole community by assisting those who are most vulnerable.” Source: “Preferential Option for the Poor and Vulnerable,” *Center for Social Concerns*, University of Notre Dame, <https://socialconcerns.nd.edu/content/4-preferential-option-poor-and-vulnerable> (accessed April 1, 2019).

²⁹ Jaime Cura, “Tagle Conferred 2018 Rotary Peace Award,” *Epistolorium*, March 17, 2018, <https://fsdpi.org/2018/03/17/cardinal-luis-antonio-tagle-conferred-peace-awardee-for-2018/> (accessed May 19, 2018).

to the most marginalized, working to ensure that their experiences and concerns inform his ministry and the Church's efforts to promote justice and peace.³⁰

The challenge for the Church now is for it to perform its role in promoting Catholic teachings and advocating for the people while still acknowledging and respecting the separation of Church and State. Faith-inspired women peacebuilders offer one example of both grassroots and government-level interventions that respect that separation while also honouring the role that faith can play in empowering a culture of peace even during the war on drugs.

Currently, these faith-inspired women are being recognized at a grassroots level because their communities have seen the extent of the work they do and how these peace works help in peacebuilding in their areas. However, on a broader scale and government level, there is still no evidence of recognition. Although the importance of faith-inspired women is being acknowledged, they are still seen as the opposition because they are not afraid to express their voices to remind everyone about Catholic Social Teaching, especially if the importance of respect for human life and dignity is being taken for granted.

³⁰ Elizabeth Rankin, "Tagle," *The Daily Domer*, March 3, 2017, <https://dailydomer.nd.edu/news/cardinal-luis-antonio-gokim-tagle/> (accessed May 4, 2018).

CHAPTER FOUR - Literature Review

The scope of this chapter expands to three main points: women, religion, and peacebuilding, then builds the relationship of these three to women's role in peacebuilding in the Philippines. It is important to understand the connection between religion and peacebuilding and how it relates to women as peacebuilders. Since religion plays a vital role in the Philippines, this chapter expresses how faith-inspired women are influenced by religion in their peacebuilding efforts.

4.1 Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding

Over the years, women have struggled to prove themselves in various leadership roles, especially in patriarchal societies where most major religious traditions give more advantage to men.¹ Gender balance is, for example, a significant challenge when working with faith leaders as a group.² It is also apparent that religious texts such as the Bible and Qur'an were written in a patriarchal culture giving more significance to men and their contributions in most of the stories of many holy texts.³ For example, in Genesis 3:16, [the woman] Eve is put under the rule of man when she disobeys God's command. Although both genders were punished by being banished from the garden of Eden, women were made to suffer the excruciating pain of childbirth as part of Eve's punishment while men had to toil by the sweat of their brow. Though the punishment seems symmetrical, feminists as far back as Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the nineteenth century

¹ Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, "Religious Women's Invisibility: Obstacles and Opportunities" in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

² Ibid.

³ Franke Wilme, "Gender, Violence, and Dehumanization: No Peace with Patriarchy," in *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required*, eds. Maureen P. Flaherty et al. (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015).

have argued that the women received the heavier weight.⁴ In the Qur'an, Surah 2:223 states, "Your wives are a place of cultivation [i.e., sowing of seed] for you, so come to your place of cultivation however you wish and put forth..."⁵ placing women beneath men and mandating their role as obedient wives. Citing similar verse from the Qur'an (Surah 4:34), Alexis Kort in her essay "Dar al-Cyber Islam: Women, domestic violence, and the Islamic reformation on the World Wide Web" shares that some texts could be misinterpreted and abused if put in the wrong context or even used to "justify marital abuse."⁶

Moreover, under an extreme interpretation of Shariah by the Taliban in Afghanistan, women were denied education and opportunity to work, and without the "full head-to-toe covering of the burqa" and a male companion, were not allowed to explore public places.⁷ These women suffered from "limited access to health care, including laws forbidding treatment of women by male doctors, and pervasive threats of domestic and state-legitimated violence."⁸ In these cases, patriarchy privileged certain ideologies that marginalized women, although that is not the only factor that holds back women in the contemporary world. As many people argue "our present world order—economically, politically, religiously, and socially—including relations between states as well as the structure itself, is grounded in patriarchal norms."⁹ Shirin Ebadi, a 2003 Nobel Peace Prize recipient and a former Iranian judge who is now a human rights

⁴ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Bible and Church Degrade Woman," H. L. Green, [1896?]. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8HGDC6> (accessed March 9, 2019).

⁵ "The Qur'an: English Meanings and Notes by Saheeh International," *Al-Muntada Al Islami Trust*, 2011.

⁶ Alexis Kort, "Dar al-Cyber Islam: Women, domestic violence, and the Islamic reformation on the World Wide Web," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2005): 363-383, DOI: 10.1080/13602000500408393.

⁷ Ronald Inglehart and Pipa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Mary Buckley, 1997 as cited by Ronald Inglehart and Pipa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

advocate, expressed the view that “we should get rid of patriarchy, then we will see what problems Islam has with women.”¹⁰ She added that “we should fight patriarchy and not men.”¹¹

Since this thesis has already established the role of religion in the Philippines and would like to focus on the faith-inspired women, it is vital also to name some strong women leaders in the Bible, especially since most faith-inspired Filipina peacebuilder research participants acknowledge them and look up to them as role models.¹²

Although the Hebrew and Greek scriptures were written in patriarchal cultures and were used to maintain the patriarchy, they nevertheless offer glimpses of women’s leadership. Although there were other great women leaders mentioned in the scriptures, Mary of Nazareth was the one that the research participants mentioned due to the devotion of Filipinos to the ‘Blessed Virgin Mary.’ As a woman leader in the Bible, Mary is praised for her courage in saying yes to bearing the child Jesus despite facing possible cultural shame, defamation, and possibly being considered subservient.¹³ To which, maybe in contrast to some feminist, including Simone de Beauvoir, the godmother of feminism, who “berate the church for using Mary to create an inferior and unrealistic model of femininity.”¹⁴ However, many still looked to Mary’s leadership, especially the Filipino faith-inspired women, as instrumental in the formation of Christianity (Luke 1:26 - 55).¹⁵ To them, Mary bravely stood by her son Jesus when he was on

¹⁰ Shirin Ebadi as cited by Franke Wilme, “Gender, Violence, and Dehumanization: No Peace with Patriarchy,” in *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required*, eds. Maureen P. Flaherty et al. (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015), p.341.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See interview transcript of Sr. Brenda Leal on p. 100.

¹³ Gaye Strathearn, “Mary, the Mother of Jesus,” *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, January 2019, <https://www.lds.org/study/ensign/2019/01/mary-the-mother-of-jesus?lang=eng> (accessed April 1, 2019).

¹⁴ Dr. Sarah Jane Boss, “Could the Virgin Mary be your female role model?,” *BBC*, (n.d.), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/ztybycw> (accessed April 5, 2019).

¹⁵ See interview transcript of Sr. Brenda Leal on p. 100.

the cross despite the pain of seeing him suffer and the risk of being associated with him while his disciples ran away to avoid this penal moment and sacrifices of guilt by association.¹⁶

In this contemporary time, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, and Tawakkol Karman were joint recipients of the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize. Each woman courageously showed her selfless commitment to peace inspired by her faith.¹⁷ Aside from their Nobel Prize Award, “each woman is accomplished in her own right.”¹⁸ Sirleaf is the president of Liberia and the first female head of state on the African continent. Sirleaf is also known as a committed member of the Methodist Church. Gbowee is a practicing Lutheran who helped lead peaceful protests during Liberia’s second Civil War and has been an essential player in the post-war reconciliation process.

Moreover, Karman, who is a Muslim journalist from Yemen, helped organize the 2011 Yemeni uprising, which became part of the broader movement for peace and democracy in the country.¹⁹ Both countries “historically used religion as a tool for persecution and suppression; whereas these women used it as a catalyst for change.”²⁰ These women claimed leadership roles in society and used their faith as their inspiration to become agents of change to bring peace.

Working within Asian religious traditions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, women scholars and practitioners have similarly sought to reclaim their traditions to affirm their dignity and authority, and to celebrate women’s experiences and agency within

¹⁶ Peter M.J. Stravinskias, “Standing with Mary, the Mother of God, at the Cross,” *The Catholic World Report*, March 31, 2018, <https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2018/03/31/standing-with-mary-the-mother-of-god-at-the-cross/> (accessed March 9, 2019).

¹⁷ Catherine Woodiwiss and Emily Farnell, “13 Religious Women to Watch in 2012,” *Center for American Progress*, March 7, 2012, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/religion/news/2012/03/07/11208/13-religious-women-to-watch-in-2012/> (accessed April 27, 2018).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

religious communities and practices.²¹ Although most of the population in the Philippines are Christians, there are still a few representations from other Asian faith traditions like the ones mentioned above, and the experiences of these women are similar to what most women in the Philippines claimed. Women play an essential part in some faith-inspired groups that profoundly value their peacebuilding efforts, for example in the Pax Christi²² and Focolare²³ movements within Catholicism traditions and Brahma Kumaris²⁴ in Hindu traditions. Further, the Buddhist Tzu Chi²⁵ is one of many peacebuilding groups founded by faith-inspired women.²⁶

The marginalization of women in historically male-dominated societies has undermined their contributions to peacebuilding work. Often, these male-dominated societies do not realize that women's participation in the process of achieving sustainable peace is essential. Anderlini, as cited by Trujillo-Gomez, states that "women are among the first to speak out collectively against war and to try to prevent escalation. That is evident globally."²⁷ Women are now claiming more leadership roles and breaking from their conventional social, political, and economic norms. Security Council Resolution 1325 acknowledged women's contributions to peacebuilding and the significant role they continue to play in conflict resolution, yet it is still

²¹ Rita Gross as cited by Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, *Feminism and Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), pp. 56-64.

²² Pax Christi is a Catholic entity who works with lay and religious in pursuit of peace, justice, and reconciliation. It was founded in Europe in 1945 as a "reconciliation movement bringing together French and Germans after World War II." Source: Pax Christi International, <https://www.paxchristi.net/about-us>

²³ Focolare is a Catholic Movement founded in Trent, Italy in 1943 by Chiara Lubich. It is a movement of "spiritual and social renewal." Source: Focolare Movement, <https://www.focolare.org/en/chi-siamo/>

²⁴ Brahma Kumaris was founded in India in 1937 by Prajapita Brahma Baba. It is a spiritual movement and an international non-government organization dedicated to "personal transformation and world renewal." Source: Brahma Kumaris, <http://www.brahmakumaris.org/about-us/introduction>

²⁵ Buddhist Tzu Chi is a humanitarian organization focused on medical aid and environmental work, founded in 1966 by Master Cheng Yen, a Taiwanese Buddhist nun. Source: Tzu Chi, http://tw.tzuchi.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=159&Itemid=198&lang=en

²⁶ Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, "Women Peacebuilders Distinctive Approaches of Different Religious Traditions," in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, ed. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 35.

²⁷ Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez, "The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia," April 29, 2013.

evident that women are underrepresented and ignored in major decision-making acts.²⁸ As per United Nations Women Facts and Figures, “out of 504 peace agreements signed, only 138 mention women and only 2% of international funding dedicated to peace security are allocated to the empowerment of women.”²⁹ These statistics are overwhelming evidence that women are overlooked and sidelined despite platitudes to the contrary, which proves the importance of supporting female peacebuilders. Women experience violence and conflict differently than men, and their vulnerability often leads them to a deeper appreciation for peacebuilding. Adelina Zuniga, a Pentecostal woman in Colombia, is a good example. She turned her experience of being a victim of violence into finding solace and healing in her community and eventually became an effective peacebuilder, activist, and leader in her community.³⁰ Similarly, one of the research participants, Josephine (as discussed further in section 5.1.3) shared how her childhood experience of being exposed to dangerous drugs in her area became her motivation to aspire to represent women in politics, be the person she is now, and become an agent for change.

Another woman who has been involved in peacebuilding is Aung San Suu Kyi, a Buddhist Nobel Peace Prize recipient recognized for her leadership of the “Burmese pro-democracy movement,” but who unexpectedly compromised her human rights and nonviolence cause.³¹ Since Suu Kyi became Myanmar’s de-facto leader in 2016, she has been silent in the human rights abuses controversies especially during the ruthless persecution of the Rohingya, a

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ “UN Women Facts and Figures: Peace and Security,” (n.d.), <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures> (accessed April 28, 2018).

³⁰ Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, “Religious Women’s Invisibility: Obstacles and Opportunities,” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 14.

³¹ Hannah Beech, “What Happen to Myanmar’s Human-Rights Icon?,” *The New Yorker*, October 2, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/10/02/what-happened-to-myanmars-human-rights-icon> (accessed October 11, 2018).

Muslim ethnic minority in the west of Myanmar.³² Suu Kyi is an example of a woman who, despite being a Nobel Peace Prize recipient, still became ineffectual for the title, and worse, became complicit with genocide. She reminds us that not all women are involved in holistic peacebuilding. Moreover, as Chris Coulter explains in his article “Female Fighters in Sierra Leone War: Challenging the Assumptions,” “women can be active participants in war, supporters, and advocates of continued armed struggle; they can be spies, soldiers, and rebels.”³³ However, this study does not intend to generalize but rather focuses on faith-inspired women peacebuilders working to end the war on drugs in the Philippines. Therefore, references to women mostly pertain to faith-inspired women peacebuilders who play a significant role in peacebuilding. Trujillo-Gomez explains that some women peacebuilders use the role of mothers and follow the nonviolent teachings of Gandhi to reach their goals.³⁴ As Flaherty has explained, “some believe that women see peace differently from men and that women work toward peace differently.”³⁵ Although this may sound essentialist, in my experience of the Philippine culture, women are more associated with empathy and are more inclined to finding a nonviolent conflict resolution while men are more often on the front lines of war and more likely to be committed to engaging in conflicts or violence.

Moreover, Brigit Brock-Utne (as cited by Flaherty), noted that “women tend to have more concern for human life, especially children.”³⁶ Again, this is where their motherly and peace-loving nature kicks in, probably because of their own vulnerability and life experiences

³² Ibid.

³³ Chris Coulter, “Female Fighters in the Sierra Leone War: Challenging the Assumptions?” *Feminist Review*, No. 88 (2008), pp. 54-73, <http://www.jstor.org.cyber.usask.ca/stable/30140875> (accessed March 3, 2019).

³⁴ Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez, “The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia,” April 29, 2013.

³⁵ Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2012), p. 26.

³⁶ Brigit Brock-Utne (1985, p.37) as cited by Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2012), p. 26.

which I believe can relate to the gender role expectations as part of the Filipino culture. Flaherty shared that from her interviews with women in Ukraine, they all spoke about the “centrality of family and family supports in their life.”³⁷

Similarly, Joy Heinrich, a researcher from the University of Southern Mississippi, explains in her article “Gender Roles within the Philippines,” that for Filipinos family remains their top priority.³⁸ This shows that no matter what race or culture, the family is important. Heinrich added that each gender has different roles in the family. Men usually go out in the fields, do the labour and toil and take on the role of the provider while their spouses stay at home to take care of the children and do all the household chores.³⁹ This part of the culture explains the motherly nature of women and concern for their children. Men going out to the fields could also be associated with men in the front lines of war.

Cynthia Wallace, in her book *Of Women Borne: A Literary Ethics of Suffering* shares that “women continue to evince signs of socialized self-sacrifice [...] that in countries torn by poverty and war, women are most vulnerable, that even in stable countries they are often the poorest of the poor.”⁴⁰ Concurrently, Flaherty explains that some women working diligently in peacebuilding might be interpreted as “troublemakers” especially if some of their nonviolent works can cause disruption (e.g. “the work done by the Women of Greenham Common who handily disrupted implantation of cruise missiles in Wales”).⁴¹ In the Philippines, there were some instances when a religious or other non-government agency would call for a rally or

³⁷ Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2012), p. 154.

³⁸ Joy Heinrich, “Gender Roles within the Philippines,” *Voice Lab 9*, (n.d.), <https://voicelab9.wordpress.com/non-western-cultural-norms/gender-roles-within-the-philippines/> (accessed October 11, 2018).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Cynthia Wallace, *Of Women Borne, A Literary Ethics of Suffering* (New York: Colombia University Press 2017), p. ix-xi.

⁴¹ Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*, 2012.

boycott of certain government activities to show their nonviolent action intervention, which I will discuss further in section 4.2. There were also cases of religious women peacebuilders (e.g. Catholic nuns during the decades-long conflict in Colombia) crossing the lines between parties in conflict and armed actors.⁴² Author Susan Hayward worked with these Catholic nuns in Colombia and shared that the nuns would spare their local bishops about the extent of their humanitarian activities so they wouldn't worry for their safety.⁴³ This statement shows that these Catholic nuns risked their lives to do their service.

In many cases, women also have the ability to work “under the radar,” and can accomplish humanitarian work without alarming or threatening everyone, even though this means they are often putting themselves at great risk, just as the Catholic nuns did in Colombia. Since these women are visibly recognized as religious, they are less likely to be seen as a threat, causing both parties to be more inclined to trust them, especially in conflict mediation.⁴⁴ Faith-inspired women are often known to make peacebuilding and justice-seeking efforts their priority, rather than political or personal agendas. As Gbowee points out, peacebuilding is not standing in between conflicts but healing the victims and making them whole again and bringing them back to being contributing members of their communities.⁴⁵ Although again, this may sound essentialist, Presidential Communications and Operations Office Secretary (PCOO) Sonny Coloma, Jr. stressed in his keynote address at the Asian Women Forum,

that women are not only potential peacemakers and agents of development. They are, in fact, exemplars and role models, movers and shakers, and leaders in people empowerment that promote ecologically sustainable development; second: Women can

⁴² Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, *Religious Women's Invisibility: Obstacles and Opportunities*, p. 16.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Maryann Cusimano Love, “Catholic Women Building Peace: Invisibility, Ideas, and Institutions Expand Participation,” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, “Religious Women's Invisibility: Obstacles and Opportunities,” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 21.

be effective initiators of inter-faith dialogue and catalysts for social change; and, third: Women of faith are builders of peace.⁴⁶

Macrina Morados, Dean of the Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of the Philippines, highlights Coloma's point in sharing that "Women who understand faith have a strong grip on the values that are needed in dealing with the rehabilitation of drug offenders."⁴⁷ Some women use their roles as mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters to bridge gaps, influence, and form relationships.⁴⁸ These roles allow them to reach out to victims of conflict and violence, offering the healing and reconciliation necessary for sustainable peace. Morados adds that these women might be "the women who suffer as victims of crimes and abuse and can show mercy and extend compassion to help reintegrate people who suffer from drug addiction back to mainstream society,"⁴⁹ especially since they would relate these drug users to their children and would dream of a better life for them.

For instance, there is the example of Sister Mary Tarcisia Lokot who was in the middle of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the war zone of Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda. She converted one of her convents into a training school for the young girls that had been abducted by the LRA to be held as wives and who gave birth to many children by the rebels.⁵⁰ Sr. Mary explained that her training school is trying to give these young women "a possibility to have them feel as though they are persons again."⁵¹ Lastly, women peacebuilders like Adelina

⁴⁶ "Philippines: Coloma Cites Women's Role in Peacebuilding," *Asia News Monitor Bangkok*, Thai News Service Group, November 27, 2011.

⁴⁷ Mark Saludes, "Women Assert Roles in Philippines' Anti-Narcotics War," *UCANews*, October 10, 2016, <https://www.ucanews.com/news/women-assert-role-in-philippines-anti-narcotics-war/77317> (accessed May 18, 2018).

⁴⁸ Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*, 2012.

⁴⁹ Mark Saludes, "Women Assert Roles in Philippines' Anti-Narcotics War," October 10, 2016.

⁵⁰ John Paul Lederach, "The Long Journey Back to Humanity," in *Peacebuilding Catholic Theology, Ethics, and Praxis*, eds. Robert Schreiter, R. Scott Appleby, and Gerard Powers, (New York: Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, 2010) p. 41.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Zuniga, Sr. Mary Tarcisia Lokot, and Leymah Gbowee often engage themselves in promoting education, health, community building, humanitarian relief, and other peacebuilding activities to ensure that victims' voices are heard, and peace negotiations continue.

4.2 Peacebuilding and Religion

Looking back at the history of religion and peacebuilding is often similar to trying to mix oil and water. Religion has a long history of conflict and violence not only between diverse faith traditions but with diverse cultures, nationalities, and countries. Still, not all pertain to struggle and unfortunate circumstances. My own experience living in Dubai has shown me that even though Shariah and predominantly Muslims govern the United Arab Emirates (UAE), they have opened their country to people of other religions. They allow them to build churches and to practice their faith freely, although with restrictions of observing the law and respecting Muslim traditions, and with steep punishment for any offences. During Pope Francis's recent Apostolic Journey to the UAE, he shared that this visit "wrote a new page in the history of dialogue between Christianity and Islam."⁵² He added that the signing of the *Document on Human Fraternity*, with the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, was one of the high points of this journey and "represents another step forward."⁵³ He explained that in this document, "we [Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar] affirmed the common vocation of all men and women to be brothers and sisters, insofar as all are children of God."⁵⁴ Through this event, both Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar also condemned "every form of violence, especially those

⁵² Christopher Wells, "Pope Francis: Journey to UAE, part of the "surprises" of God," *Vatican News*, February 6, 2019, <https://www.vaticannews.va/en/pope/news/2019-02/pope-francis-general-audience-apostolic-journey-uae.html> (accessed March 10, 2019).

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

clothed in religious motivations,” and dedicated themselves “to spreading authentic values and peace throughout the world.”⁵⁵ The apostolic journey is proof that with a common goal of peace and justice, religion and peacebuilding are slowly mixing together.

Closer to home, Canada has opened its door to everyone no matter what their religion or culture is. Although this is not a perfect welcome, at least, different faith traditions can freely practice their beliefs. Of course, this privilege comes with the responsibility—of observing the law and respecting others. These cases are examples where different religions can live together amicably. These examples show how the state avoided conflicts or issues between beliefs by respecting the rights to the religion of expatriates in the UAE and immigrants or refugees in Canada while protecting their citizens’ religious practices. In relation to the Philippines’ war on drugs, the government should learn to protect their citizens without compromising the values of its people, to uphold the law while respecting human dignity and the sanctity of life.

As noted earlier, there were also cases where the conflict occurred between the State and the Church. As an example, Sallie King, in her essay, “Buddhism, Nonviolence, and Power,” shares how the Vietnamese Struggle Movement of 1963-1966 strived to resolve the North and South Vietnam conflict and end the war by peaceful deliberations through the leadership of Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam (UBC).⁵⁶ King discusses the “three categories of nonviolent action” proposed by Gene Sharp. The first category that Sharp proposed was “Acts of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion.”⁵⁷ These acts would express their support or disagreement by making them known publicly to gain more support.⁵⁸ The questioning of authority might then

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Sallie King, “Buddhism, Nonviolence, and Power,” *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, James Madison University, 2009.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

weaken the other party's power.⁵⁹ In the case of the war on drugs in the Philippines, the Catholic Church and other Human Rights advocates had challenged the current administration's acts of violence when they declared war on drugs. This challenge gained support not only in the Philippines but with the international community as well, causing the current government to suspend *Tokhang* operations and then review how they are currently being implemented. Sharp's second category was "Acts of Noncooperation."⁶⁰ King explains that the Vietnamese Struggle Movement showed their noncooperation in different ways such as economic shutdowns, political resignations, a student boycott of classes and elections, and the refusal of military conscription.⁶¹ Some of these social and political noncooperation is already happening in the Philippines, as evidenced by protests and rallies. One example is the "Walk for Life" mass demonstration on February 24, 2018, in which thousands of Catholics in the Philippines protested "President Rodrigo Duterte's bloody war on drugs and his efforts to reinstate the death penalty."⁶²

Another example of "Acts on Noncooperation" is when [Philippine] "PH media goes black to protest threats against press freedom"⁶³ on January 19, 2018. This protest was dubbed as #BlackFridayForPressFreedom in support of Rappler⁶⁴ when the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) revoked its registration; it faced five tax evasion charges as part of "government's persecution" due to Rappler and Ressa's apparently unwavering coverage of

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Thomson Reuters, "Hundreds of Philippine Catholic march to protest Duterte's drug war," *CBC News*, February 24, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/catholic-march-philippines-1.4550392> (accessed February 4, 2019).

⁶³ Raisa Serafica, "PH media goes black to protest threats against press freedom," *Rappler*, January 19, 2018, <https://www.rappler.com/move-ph/194064-black-friday-rally-january-19-press-freedom> (accessed February 5, 2019).

⁶⁴ Rappler is an independent social news network in the Philippines.

Duterte’s “disinformation campaigns and extrajudicial killings.”⁶⁵ Rappler’s Chief Executive Officer Maria Ressa, along with “300 attendees from media groups, press freedom advocates, student groups, artist groups, and the academe,” gathered to stand their ground and show that they will not be intimidated and will continue to speak the truth.⁶⁶ The International Center for Journalists recently awarded Ressa the 2018 Knight Award Winner and Time Person of the Year for her determination to “hold the line in defense of independent journalism.”⁶⁷ Other groups and agencies have also called for rallies and noncooperation with the current government activities. However, very few join in and more people still choose to support the administration. The number of citizens who believe in the effectivity and necessity of *Tokhang* may explain why this category is still not as effective. The third category is the “Act of Nonviolent Intervention.”⁶⁸ Sharp explains that this act “use psychological, physical, economic or political means to intervene in the functioning of the government.”⁶⁹ This act is where most of our faith-inspired peacebuilders fit in. They work collaboratively with the faith-based organizations and human right advocates to establish a nonviolent alternative to *Tokhang*. Section 5.1 highlights how the research participants discussed and explained their role in the “act of nonviolent intervention” or involvement in peacebuilding in the war on drugs in the Philippines. King explains that “the forms of nonviolent intervention used by the Struggle Movement included: the construction of alternative schools, such as the School of Youth for Social Service and Van Hanh University; the

⁶⁵ Raisa Serafica, “PH media goes black to protest threats against press freedom,” *Rappler*, January 19, 2018, <https://www.rappler.com/move-ph/194064-black-friday-rally-january-19-press-freedom> (accessed February 5, 2019).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Jennifer Dorroh, “ICFJ’s 2018 Knight Award Winner Maria Ressa Named a TIME Person of the Year,” *International Center for Journalists*, December 11, 2018, <https://www.icfj.org/news/icfjs-2018-knight-award-winner-maria-ressa-named-time-person-year> (accessed February 5, 2019).

⁶⁸ Sallie King, “Buddhism, Nonviolence, and Power,” *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, James Madison University, 2009.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

establishment of alternative communications, such as a publishing house [...],”⁷⁰ and Dr. Nathalie Ranin’s (one of the research participants) work in prison ministry that centers on teaching livelihood to help convicts re-integrate into mainstream society (as discussed in section 5.1.3). Both exemplify this mode of action.

Similar to the Act of Nonviolent Intervention done by the Vietnamese Struggle Movement, the Catholic Church in the Philippines spearheaded a drug rehabilitation program called *Sanlakbay sa Pagbabago ng Buhay* (Journey to Life-Changing). This program was launched in the parishes by the Archdiocese of Manila’s Restorative Justice Ministry to help treat the drug dependents who surrendered.⁷¹ On February 23, 2018, Tagle, the peacebuilder and humble advocate for the poor and marginalized, shared that the *Sanlakbay sa Pagbabago ng Buhay* program will help those who want to “leave their old ways.”⁷² He added that those who “turn themselves in would be introduced to the Lord through catechism, assisted in embarking on livelihood projects and taught new skills to hone their natural talents.”⁷³ It is important to acknowledge that Tagle not only sees the importance of faith but understands that holistic care is much needed. Having decent employment and being able to find a suitable home, as well as continued support, would be more helpful for the drug dependents to completely “leave their old ways.”

Another example of a response to conflict between religion and state comes from Nigeria. Due to many deeply rooted issues, such as poverty and economic injustice felt by most of the population in Kaduna State (Nigeria), including conflicts among race, culture, and religion, the

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “Church Open to Junkies, says Tagle,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, September 17, 2016, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/816139/church-open-to-junkies-says-cardinal-tagle> (accessed May 3, 2018).

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

region has seen tensions turn into violence at the slightest provocation.⁷⁴ Religion is a strong identity in this place since the majority of the people are Muslim, and the minority groups are mainly Christians.⁷⁵ In response to this crisis, religious leaders from Muslim and Christian groups in Nigeria called for peace and dialogue to create a long-term peacebuilding agreement, but it was not an easy task.⁷⁶ Women's interfaith and faith-based groups such as the Nigerian Chapter of Women of Faith Network, Nigerian Council of Catholic Women Religious (NCWR), Federation of Muslim Women's Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN), Catholic Women's Organization (CWO), Women's Wing of the Christian Association of Nigeria (WOWICAN), and The Interfaith Forum of Muslim and Christian Women's Associations were established for peacebuilding initiatives and to strengthen women's voices.

Another example where religion is working collaboratively is through the model community which is located between Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Jerusalem, called *Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam* (Oasis of Peace) and founded by Fr. Bruno Hussar. This community is a Jewish-Arab village that embodies a dream of Jews, Christians, and Muslims living and working together peacefully by choice.⁷⁷ One of the challenges Fr. Bruno faced when building this community is remembering that there will still be conflict; it will not be perfect.⁷⁸ As expanded upon below, students at the Village School are taught to become fluent in Hebrew and Arabic, allowing them to communicate and understand each other. In this community, there are equal numbers of Arab-

⁷⁴ Bilkisu Yusuf and Sr. Kathleen McGarve, "Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding in Kaduna State, Nigeria," in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen* eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 175.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ "Founder – Bruno Hussar," *Oasis of Peace*, online: <http://wasns.org/-founder-bruno-hussar-> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Israeli and Jewish-Israeli families to maintain balance, and they are expected to be committed to celebrating religious festivals and diversity in many ways.⁷⁹

From a religious nonviolence and peacebuilding perspective, one of the values of model communities is to start by accepting that their community is not perfect. Just as no one religion is perfect, a mix of religions will also not be entirely ideal all of the time. One can also start recognizing that nonviolence is not easy to achieve, but all peacebuilding efforts should be exhausted in order to create such a community. Living in a model community, such as putting religion and peacebuilding together, may not be easy, but if people are aware of the goals and objectives, the mutual respect will be more noticeable than the differences in their religious traditions and beliefs. People learn to accept individual differences and share common values, so it is possible to live together in a spirit of equality and cooperation.

Although the Philippines is mostly Christian, Mindanao (located in the southern part of the Philippines) is one area in the country with diversity and religious tension. People in this region lived in conflict for many years until thirty-three women of different religious backgrounds decided to work in a one-of-a-kind project as peacekeepers and to raise awareness of each other's culture and religious practices (see section 4.4 for further discussion). As some of the women shared, it is not easy but rewarding.

Similar to this project in Mindanao, *Wahat Al-Salam* created a "School for Peace" (located between Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Jerusalem) that intended to model the shared values of the community.⁸⁰ There, children learn each other's languages, traditions, festivals, and cultures, learning to love and celebrate their own while respecting others, and values are taught in their

⁷⁹ Explore Documentary Film, "Oasis of Peace, Explore Films," YouTube video, June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=An9GGV3bP00> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁸⁰ Ibid.

school. This work is based on the premise that nonviolence and peacebuilding are most potent when practiced by children, especially since children cannot have prejudices other than those learned from their family or elders, the media, or their peers.⁸¹ They do not know discrimination, racial inferiority, or superiority until they hear it from adults. Children who celebrate holidays such as Ramadan, Christmas, and Hanukkah together can become more accepting and considerate adults who form inclusive communities and societies. Shared activities explore the values of equality and justice while also promoting reconciliation. The idea of model communities can help people to examine their spiritual, cultural, and ideological experiences to offer opportunities for connections between individuals with noticeably different worldviews.

Closer to home, the Lay Formation Program offered by the Diocese of Saskatoon, although temporary, is the closest experience of living in a model community for me. This program focuses on Catholic (Eastern, Western, and Indigenous) teaching, prayers and community-building. Like-minded people of different cultures, races, and backgrounds live together from Friday to Sunday every first week of the month for two years. They celebrate each other's traditions, pray together, and share each others' values. They may not always agree, but they learn how to accept and live together peacefully. My experience living in this community even for a short period and having lived in three different countries with entirely different cultures (Asian, Western, and Middle Eastern), has exposed me to different religious traditions, practices, and languages. I have also learned to become more open-minded, accepting, and less prejudiced. Experience has been my best teacher. Knowing why people do what they do helps to lessen conflict. While model communities might not be a "one-size-fits-all" solution, they

⁸¹ Ibid.

provide a starting ground for other communities to build upon. However, it takes considerable effort and commitment from every member to make it sustainable.

Moreover, building this kind of community requires great leaders and transparent individuals with no hidden motives. Issues among residents should be handled with care to avoid a snowball effect regarding conflict dynamics.⁸² As in most places called “model communities,” though, they will never be perfect but would be a great start and venue for religion and peacebuilding to work together. In the context of the war on drugs in the Philippines, the “model communities” concept could be used as an inspiration in promoting the government’s community-based rehabilitation program (CBRP). In collaboration with the faith-inspired women peacebuilders and other groups with experience living in a model community, the CBRP’s effectiveness could be further enhanced.

4.3 Women as Peacebuilders

Peacebuilding in any institution or country is not an easy process. It requires a collective effort of different actors in the community, including women. For some faith-inspired peacebuilders, especially those who adopt Catholic Social Teaching as an integral part of their faith traditions, the principle of human dignity includes both rights and responsibilities.⁸³ Human dignity is affected by lack of peace because all involved in the conflict have lost part of their humanity and need to ‘re-humanize.’⁸⁴ Seeing numerous deaths and experiencing this over and over again takes away feelings and makes humanity numb. Hayward and Marshall in their book

⁸² Jarem Sawatsky, *The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice: Studies from Hollow Water, The Iona Community, and Plum Village*, (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2009).

⁸³ John Paul Lederach, “The Long Journey Back to Humanity,” in *Peacebuilding Catholic Theology, Ethics, and Praxis*, eds. Robert Schreiter, R. Scott Appleby, and Gerard Powers (New York: Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, 2010).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen, highlights the works of some women peacebuilders who showcase their peacebuilding efforts rooted in their faith tradition and shows the extent of work that they do.⁸⁵ For example, Catholic woman peacebuilder, Sister Mary Tarcisia Lokot, worked in the war zone of Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda and placed herself in active, dangerous conflicts, and Muslim women peacebuilders like Tawakkol Karman (Yemen) and Asmaa Mahfouz (Egypt) entered into the political realms to challenge the conventional and tyrannical regimes towards women, drawing strength and inspiration from Muslim women leaders.⁸⁶ Both the Catholic and Muslim women courageously put their lives in danger in different ways. They did what they feel called to do as faith-inspired peacebuilders.

Maryann Cusimano Love, in her article “Catholic Women Building Peace,” shares that with her academic and activist work with Catholic women peacebuilders, she finds that their peacebuilding practices are driven by their religious traditions including the Catholic Social Teaching principles of respect for human life and the belief that all persons are created in the image of God.⁸⁷ Love states that this teaching is “not unique to Catholics, but distinctive Catholic institutional structures and the religious motivation behind them may give them greater breadth and depth.”⁸⁸ Similar to Love’s article, this thesis, as part of its larger goals, attempts to prove that Filipino faith-inspired women peacebuilders bring contributions and offer different paths holding onto and drawing their peacebuilding works and actions from Catholic Social Teaching.

⁸⁵ Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 49.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Maryann Cusimano Love, “Catholic Women Building Peace: Invisibility, Ideas, and Institutions Expand Participations.” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

As for Muslim women peacebuilders like Karman and Mahfouz, their actions challenge the perception of oppressed and voiceless women who “hide behind a veil.”⁸⁹ Both women used their skills and talents to break gender and cultural norms in Yemen and Egypt. Most Muslim women peacebuilders adhere to the values and practices of Islam and believe that Islam is a religion of peace and application of its teachings bring peace, justice, order, and harmony.⁹⁰

Mary McCarthy’s essay “Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle” attempts to “link the functions of women in peacebuilding to a causal theory of how that participation fosters sustainable peace by addressing the general issues encountered by peacebuilders.”⁹¹ She also adds that since peacebuilding takes a lot of time, effort, and process, not many situations can be claimed where women’s participation has resulted in a peaceful ending. However, there are some assumptions that “substantive participation of women might constructively contribute to the prospects for peace.”⁹² I believe that adding the faith component of these women peacebuilders makes a difference in how they participate or actualize peace work. Counteracting the earlier metaphor of mixing oil and water and religion and peacebuilding, this is an example of how combining the faith component with peacebuilding could be an effective strategy. In support, Tanya Schwarz explains in her book *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* that “FBOs can be distinguished from their secular counterparts by their employment of religious values, [...that] are drawn from religious texts or traditions.”⁹³ In addition, William Headley, CSSp, and Reina Neufeldt, in their article

⁸⁹ S. Ayse Kadayifci-Orellana, “Muslim Women’s Peacebuilding Initiatives,” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Mary K. McCarthy, “Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle,” *CUREJ: College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, April 8, 2011, <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/132> (accessed May 28, 2018).

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Tanya Schwarz, *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* (London: Rowman & Littlefield

“Catholic Relief Services: Catholic Peacebuilding in Process,” explain that “a combination of the spiritual and the practical in peacebuilding partnerships and initiatives are strengths for Catholic peacebuilding.”⁹⁴ The spiritual aspect in Catholic peacebuilding is rooted in Catholic Social Teaching principles giving a “distinctive flavour” to secular peacebuilding,⁹⁵ which could be effective in the Philippine context because most of the population is Catholic.

4.4 Women’s Role in Peacebuilding in the Philippines

For a long time, Mindanao has been noted as one of the most dangerous regions in the world because of the conflict between the government of the Philippines and the insurgent Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) fighting for autonomy for Muslim people in their region. Since 1960 this conflict has resulted in the deaths of 120,000 to 150,000 people.⁹⁶ The MILF did not only cause the violence and tension in Mindanao but along with it were many other factors such as weak implementation of the law due to corruption, and distrust among people of different cultures and beliefs (Christians; Moros, one of the Indigenous/ethnic groups practicing Islam; and the Lumads, who are another group of Indigenous people adhering to ancestral beliefs), which results in family and tribal feuds that have been prevalent for generations.⁹⁷ Through the leadership of Mary Ann Arnado, Mindanao People’s Caucus (MPC) spearheaded a one-of-a-kind project in the world: an all-women interfaith group of ceasefire monitors in the Philippines.⁹⁸

International, Ltd, 2018), p.147.

⁹⁴ William Headley and Reina Neufeldt, “Catholic Relief Services,” in *Peacebuilding Catholic Theology, Ethics, and Praxis*, eds. Robert Schreiter, R. Scott Appleby, and Gerard Powers (New York: Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, 2010), p. 147.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Margaret Jenkins, “An All-Women Peacekeeping Group, Lessons from the Mindanao People’s Caucus,” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 143.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 144.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Thirty-three Muslim, Christian, and Indigenous women from the affected regions were recruited in 2010 to conscientiously oversee the ceasefire between the MILF and the Philippine government.”⁹⁹ These women peacekeepers, although civilians, unarmed, and unaffiliated with the United Nations, courageously monitor the peace process and a ceasefire in the affected regions and protect the displaced civilians.¹⁰⁰ Understandably, working with thirty-three women of different cultural and faith backgrounds is not an easy task. Some of the interfaith group members explained that “religious diversity is both challenging and rewarding” mainly in that some of these women have never worked with other faith groups.¹⁰¹ Learning other cultural and religious practices will increase awareness of other people and teach them to react differently in different situations. This example shows the versatility of women and a willingness to compromise and work with one another in the name of peace. Women’s role in peacebuilding in the community works in various ways. These women are almost all on the frontline of the conflict, so to speak, because of their direct engagement with the opposing party. This frontline work does not discredit in any sense the contribution of women who are not on the frontline because each contribution is essential. Similarly, the faith-inspired women offering assistance to people with drug addiction put themselves in the crossfire between the law enforcers and the offenders. They are also putting themselves in harm’s way at some point, especially if, due to the influence of drugs, the people they care for do something violent. Jenny’s work as noted in Table 5.1 is one example of these faith-inspired women who are willing to go an extra mile to support their cause.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p.145.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

The Ecumenical Women's Forum (EWF) is an association of 11 organizations of church women in the Philippines.¹⁰² The Women of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines is an active and founding member of the EWF and has expressed its solidarity with all the women in the world.¹⁰³ During their 2017 EWF gathering, the Pastor of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, Rev. Irma Balaba, gave a talk where she stressed the importance of women's roles in achieving justice and peace.¹⁰⁴

One of the faith-inspired groups of the EWF is the Association of Women in Theology (AWIT). Through the leadership of Rev. Rhea Bitacura-Loquias and Ms. Marlene Enriquez-Caramanzana, AWIT calls on the current government to "uphold human dignity and respect human rights in its campaign against illegal drugs."¹⁰⁵ AWIT explains that as women they empathize with the suffering and affliction of the mothers, sisters, and families who have lost their loved ones from drug use and abuse, but they still believe that there is a way to end the war on drugs without resorting to killing and sacrificing the sanctity of human life.¹⁰⁶ They explain that the violent and bloody actions of the government in response to illegal drugs, and the mass media's reaction that dignifies the killings, makes the culture of violence prevalent; it is becoming the new norm. These faith-inspired women call on President Duterte to never lose sight of what is honourable, just, pure, pleasing, and commendable (making reference to the

¹⁰² EWF list of 11 organizations: Association of Major Religious Superiors in the Philippines, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, the United Church of Christ, the Philippine Independent Church, the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, the United Methodist Church, KASIMBAYAN, Diakonia Philippines, the Association of Women in Theology, BATIS, the Federation of Convention Baptist Women, the Asuncion Perez Memorial Center, the Moro Christian Peoples' Alliance, and the Religious of the Good Shepherd.

¹⁰³ Francisca Bawayan, "Ecumenical Women's Forum in the Philippines Celebrates International Women's Day," *Anglican Communion News Service*, March 14, 2012, <http://www.anglicannews.org/news/2012/03/ecumenical-womens-forum-in-the-philippines-celebrates-international-womens-day.aspx> (accessed April 28, 2018)

¹⁰⁴ Rgsphil, "Ecumenical Women's Forum 2017," *Religious of the Good Shepherd*, <http://www.goodshepherdsisters.org.ph/news/ecumenical-womens-forum-2017> (accessed April 28, 2018).

¹⁰⁵ Rev. Rhea Bitacura-Loquias and Marlene Enriquez-Caramanzana, "Never Lose Sight of Life," *Association of Women in Theology*, September 2016, <https://awitsite.wordpress.com/2016/09/> (accessed April 28, 2018).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

scripture: Philippians 4:8), and to respect the sanctity of life for all, which is fundamental to Catholic Social Teaching when strategizing and implementing government programs since the Philippines is predominantly a Christian country.¹⁰⁷ They reiterate that the solution to ending drug use and dependency is not violence or killing but is in creating a “condition where people live decent and empowered lives.”¹⁰⁸

Jenn Meneses, Executive Secretary of the Board of Women’s Work of the United Methodist Church, calls on women of faith to stand for the poor and rise up for life and human rights.¹⁰⁹ She states that the war on drugs has been characterized as a “reign of terror,” “culture of violence (this term is used in peace studies),” or “culture of fear” and that the ones who suffer most are the poor.¹¹⁰ She makes an urgent call to women of faith, stressing that,

As women of faith, may we never falter to dance, march, sing, shout and even raise our fist with the struggling people for the sake of life. As women of faith, let us continue to engage ourselves in any efforts to defend life, dignity and human rights.¹¹¹

Meneses’ perspective is significant for my research because she understands her role as a woman of faith in the war on drugs in the Philippines and definitely would like to exercise her position in society to promote peace. These perspectives are just a few of the questions that I posted earlier to which she would be able to respond. Her call to women is in the same vein as that of Leymah Gbowee, Shirin Ebadi, and all the other women of faith groups that will continue to defend life, dignity and human rights as they support nonviolent peacebuilding alternatives.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Jenn Pabelo Ferariza Meneses, “Women of Faith, Stand with the Poor! We Rise Up for Life and for Rights!,” *Association of Women in Theology*, March 9, 2017, <https://awitsite.wordpress.com/2017/03/09/women-of-faith-stand-with-the-poor-we-rise-up-for-life-and-for-rights-iwd-ecumenical-womens-forum-ewf-resource-materials/> (accessed April 29, 2018).

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE – Peacebuilding Processes

According to the 2018 Pastoral Message for the new year of Eamon Martin, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, “All human life is sacred. All human life is precious. This is why the direct and intentional taking of human life especially the innocent is always gravely wrong.”¹ In line with this statement, it is worth noting that horrible crimes made by those who suffer from drug addiction may have been committed ‘under the influence’ and they may not have control of their actions. Again, as Tagle expressed in the CBCP’s Pastoral letter, death is not the only solution to solve the drug problem and that the end will not justify the means.² That being said, let us take Sawatzky’s point on restorative justice and focus on building a community that is more inclusive and nonviolent.³ Eradicating drug use and abuse by creating more orphans, widows, and childless parents will never attain peace.⁴

In Tagle’s 2015 Christmas message, he challenged the people to show compassion and value human life. He reminded all Filipinos

As members of the human family; we need to ask: why is there room for a new television set or the latest gadget but not for another child in the family? Why is ‘rugby’⁵ for sniffing available but not affordable, nutritious food?

¹ Archbishop Eamon Martin, “Pastoral Message for the New Year 2018 from Archbishop Eamon Martin: “To Serve Human Life is to Serve God” (Pope Francis),” *Irish Catholic Bishops Conference*, January 6, 2018, <https://www.catholicbishops.ie/2018/01/06/pastoral-message-for-the-new-year-2018-from-archbishop-eamon-martin-to-serve-human-life-is-to-serve-god-pope-francis/> (accessed May 4, 2018).

² “CBCP’s Pastoral Statement vs Illegal Drugs, Killings,” *Philstar Global*, February 5, 2017, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/02/05/1669324/full-text-cbcps-pastoral-statement-vs-illegal-drugs-killings> (accessed April 30, 2018).

³ Jarem Sawatzky, *The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice: Studies from Hollow Water, The Iona Community, and Plum Village* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2009), p. 53.

⁴ Larry B. Stammer, “Rethinking Tactics in War on Drugs,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 2000, <http://articles.latimes.com/2000/jun/03/local/me-36898> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁵ Rugby is a “manufactured brand name of a solvent or inhalants with a toluene-based substance that alleviates hunger when consumed. Its low cost and ease of procuring contributes to the widespread abuse of the substance and is commonly used by gangs of street children in the Philippines. This chemical is usually placed in a plastic bag and sniffed by the users. Addiction to this substance often led to crime and health problems.” Source: Anthony R, “Rugby Boys,” *Wellsphere*, Men’s Health Community, November 21, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140311062623/http://www.wellsphere.com/men-s-health-article/quot-rugby-boys-quot/508771> (accessed December 7, 2018).

Why are vices within reach of young people while education seems unattainable? Why are guns and other weapons more accessible than decent jobs? Why is there ample room for hatred and revenge but too little for compassion and forgiveness?

Why is there no room for hope for those who have gone astray but much space for condemnation by the self-righteous? Why is there room for profit but little empathy for victims of human trafficking, unfair labour practices, abuse and violence, and for wounded creation?

Why is there room for hostile despair but little for tender hope? Why is there room for destroying lives but the minute space for saving them? What has happened to hospitality? Without hospitality, how could humanity survive?⁶

At that time, over 6000 people had already died in the war on drugs. Since many Filipinos supported Duterte's war and believed that these drug addicts were beyond redemption, Tagle was appealing to the people with his Christmas message. He stressed that these are "human beings, that there is hope, and the situation should not be considered hopeless."⁷ Tagle's approach of communicating to people relates to the earlier discussion on the role of religion in the Philippines. Many incidents have indicated that the Filipino people show a great deal of respect for Church authorities and would heed and respond to their call.

The Philippines previously had a hard time attracting investors due to criminal activities and drug-related safety and security issues. Newcomers were afraid for their lives. Duterte has made it a priority to resolve all drug-related problems through the anti-drug campaign. However, his prioritization of safety and security has resulted in a violent and conflict-inducing solution. As Tagle claims, the killing cannot create peace, and violence cannot be resolved with more violence.⁸ A nonviolent anti-drug program is attainable if the Philippine Government will value its deeply rooted Catholic tradition and emphasize Catholic Social Teaching and religious

⁶ "Tagle's Christmas message: Make Room for the Poor," *ABS-CBN News*, December 24, 2015, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/news/12/24/16/cardinal-tagles-christmas-message-make-room-for-the-poor> (accessed April 30, 2018).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

peacebuilding. Although the majority of the population are Christians, Roman Catholic, in particular, other faith traditions are aware of Catholic teachings in the Philippine context and are encouraged to participate in various programs. Fr. Roberto de la Cruz, who is in charge of the Restorative Justice Ministry, said “the Church is with the drug dependents in their journey to a new life. The Church is here for them; they are not alone. The government, the police and barangay⁹ are here for them.”¹⁰ Although there are continued disagreements between the Catholic Church and the administration, both have been willing to work collaboratively for the common good. The *Sanlakbay sa Pagbabago ng Buhay* program is just one of the many options offered to achieve a drug-free, safe and secure Philippines without resorting to violence. It is helpful to examine what the government and non-government organizations have done so far to have a better grasp of the Philippines’ war on drugs and why faith-inspired women peacebuilders are essential to developing sustainable nonviolent strategies to peacebuilding.

5.1 Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders - Discussions

“Recovery from the disease of drug addiction is often a long-term process, involving multiple relapses before a patient achieves prolonged abstinence.”¹¹

- National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA)

Peacebuilding, like drug addiction recovery, does not happen overnight. Both are long-term processes and involve multiple relapses that require commitment, support, and

⁹ Barangay/Barangay Tanod: paid or unpaid small community brigade and volunteers whose primary task is to maintain peace and order in their community. Source: “Barangay Tanods,” *LGUpdates*, December 22, 2013, <https://lgupdates.weebly.com/blogs/barangay-tanods> (accessed March 8, 2019).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Quote from National Institute for Drug Abuse (NIDA) as lifted from *Understanding Recovery*, lecture presentation, Ma. Lourdes M. Anson, MS, DPCAM, (n.d.).

determination. Recovery from addiction requires the acceptance that there is a problem and a willingness to change.

Adapting the methodology employed by Maureen Flaherty in her book, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*, in this section, I employ narratives of my discussions with the faith-inspired women peacebuilders research participants. Albeck et al. (as cited by Flaherty) note that “Sometimes the most powerful connections made with others begin with a story about self—opening a window into our lives, making ourselves vulnerable.”¹² I believe that my personal experience created a bond with the respondents that allowed us to build trust and relationship. I was privileged enough to be able to gather information from fifteen qualified participants as per criteria set earlier. Of the fifteen, fourteen are Roman Catholics, and one is a non-Catholic Christian, who is familiar with Catholic Social Teaching. These participants are elected government officials or government employees, educators, members of a religious order, religious community or faith-based organizations, medical professionals or health consultants, educational program consultants, licensed counsellors, or lay people involved in different Catholic or Christian ministries. The criteria were designed intentionally to have a broader background of participants. This also does not limit the experience and kind of work that each woman brings. Though it would be preferable to have more participants from different areas of the Philippines for better representation, the qualifications, experiences, and involvement of the research participants with peacebuilding offered great insights and contributions to the findings for a master level thesis.

¹² Albeck et al., 2002 as cited by Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*. (Maryland, Lexington Books, 2012), p. 55. See also Albeck et al, “Dialogue Groups: TRT’s Guidelines for Working through Intractable Conflicts by Personal Storytelling,” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2002), pp. 301-22.

As described in the methodology, the participants voluntarily agreed to be interviewed and allowed me to record the conversations. They also gave me a copy of the written versions of the guide questions they answered for more accurate and easier transcriptions. I met with them in person on separate occasions to conduct the interviews which took place on July 8 - 23, 2018. Although most of the meetings were set in Manila because of its central location as the capital of the Philippines, I travelled to Naga City, Camarines Sur in Bicol Region to meet three of the fifteen respondents. Naga City is in Luzon and is the home town of Leni Robredo, the current Vice President of the Philippines. Due to my limited time in the Philippines, and to allow them to consider their responses, I offered to send the interview guide questions prior to the interview schedule to give the participants an idea of what questions might come up. This step was appreciated by the participants because it allowed them to prepare. Further, since they were interviewed using *Taglish*, a more common or casual form of conversation, it brought the spontaneity and openness it needed. I was able to prompt questions, and they were able to offer more in-depth discussions. The participants also shared that because we were working towards the same topic that interests us, the war on drugs, it created a bond between us. Each participant acknowledged and self-declared that they were faith-inspired peacebuilders as explained in our key terms. For privacy and protection, only the names of the research participants who agreed to have their names published would be mentioned while a pseudonym and common or nonspecific descriptors would be used for those who requested anonymity (see table 5.1 below).

Table 5.1 presents the summary of the research participants in order of their appearance throughout the discussion, a brief description of their position or title, and a brief explanation of their roles or involvement in peacebuilding in the Philippines' war on drugs. As per the earlier description of peacebuilding, these faith-inspired women peacebuilders believe that all their

nonviolent efforts, no matter how small, are a step closer to finding solutions to the existing culture of violence in the Philippines. The following table also gives a short reference to the work they do that may or may not be narrated in the discussions.

Table 5.1: Research Participants Description and Roles in Peacebuilding

Research Participant	Description	Role in Peacebuilding
1. Jenny (pseudonym)	Teacher in a Catholic school and a musician	<p>Is involved in music ministry in her church</p> <p>Provides care for the young people who suffer from drug addiction by feeding them or helping them find a suitable place to stay when under the influence of drugs rather than finding themselves in danger or doing harm to others</p>
2. Melba Vera Cruz	Unit President of Ladies of Charity (a Catholic non-profit organization) and an on-call Department of Health Consultant	<p>Organizes wellness activities that tie in with government and non-government agencies and integrates policies to help end the war on drugs in the Philippines</p> <p>Includes faith and spirituality components in all the activities she organizes for the Ladies of Charity</p>
3. Mary Rose Cumpas	Pastoral Leader of a Catholic Covenanted Community and Program Coordinator for Tertiary Education Assistance Program	<p>Educates people on the effects of drugs and teaches livelihood programs</p> <p>Through evangelization, helps others to develop a personal relationship with</p>

		Christ and explains how drug problems became a spiritual battle for many
4. Anne (pseudonym)	Catholic educator involved in Alternative Learning System (ALS)	Involved in helping out-of-school youth complete elementary or secondary education to find suitable employment and stay away from drugs
5. Marilyn Macabadbad	Catholic educator and a Project Development Officer of the Learning Resource Management and Development (Department of Education)	Uses her role to include drug education integration in different learning areas
6. Josephine Deveza	Elected Councilor/Barangay Official and former Roman Catholic Salesian educator	Uses her influence in policy-making to address the needs of women and children in her community, and improve the quality of education inspired by her exposure to Salesian charisms ¹³
7. Joan (pseudonym)	Head of Catholic Group Singles Ministry	Spearheads outreach activities and inspire others to help people Advocates for human life and the belief that people deserve second chances
8. Sr. Brenda Leal	Assistant Vicar of the Rural Missionary Sisters of the Holy Trinity	Organizes livelihood activities for women and children to become responsible to their family

¹³ Salesian charism originated from the Salesians of Don Bosco (SDB) which is founded by St. John Bosco, an Italian saint and educator of the 19th century. Salesians are also known as the Society of St. Francis de Sales, a Roman Catholic Latin Rite religious institute that is actively involved in the service of poor young people. Source: Salesians of Don Bosco, <http://www.sdb.org.ph/fin/salesian-family/>

		and to learn to be more productive members of society and stay away from vices
9. Teresita Mino	Retired Professor and an active member of the Ladies of Charity	Organizes livelihood projects for women with their spouses and children to learn to be a more productive member of society and stay away from vices
10. Flewelynn Felonia	A Catholic nurse working in a government funded hospital	<p>A healthcare practitioner educating people about the effects of drugs on the body – physical, emotional, social, and spiritual</p> <p>Advocates for human life and dignity, and the belief that people deserve second chances</p>
11. Marie-Lyn Manalo	Area Program Coordinator for World Vision Development Foundation, an active member of a Christian church (non-Catholic)	Offers counselling for reconciliation, teaches the concept of peacebuilding
12. Emily (pseudonym)	A Catholic politician	Advocates for human life and dignity and uses her influence to protect the constitution
13. Maria (pseudonym)	A Campus Minister and a Catholic Teacher	Teaches the young people about the harmful effects of drugs, promotes awareness about the war on drugs and basic human rights, inspires young people to learn more about their faith and get involved with religious

		activities to stay away from drugs
14. Sr. Nancy (pseudonym)	Head of a Catholic religious order	Offers counsel to those who self-confessed to using drugs and want to change
15. Dr. Nathalie Ranin	A Catholic educator, Public Relations and Linkages Admin Officer, Unit President of Ladies of Charity (<i>Unibersidad de Sta. Isabel</i> chapter)	Works with prison ministry, teaches livelihood education, and helps convicts re-integrate into mainstream society

To increase objectivity in my analysis, I coded the data inductively to create themes and deductively interpret the responses from the participants. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. In analyzing the transcript, I created categories and to be more concise, I narrowed down these categories to the main themes in the next section. This approach led me to examine further the meaning of responses, test the hypothesis, answer the research question or explore emerging areas based on the issues raised in this thesis.

This thesis aims to prove that faith-inspired women's perspectives in developing nonviolent strategies to end the war on drugs play a significant role in fostering cultures of peace in the Philippines. Thus, faith-inspired women with current positions in a society engaged in peacebuilding could have a positive effect on empowering women to create a more stable and gender-equal community. Given the statement above, allow me to share my discussions with my respondents proving or showing the contrary.

5.1.1 Faith-Inspired Women and their Current Roles

These next sections bring us to the personal stories and experiences of the research participants. They describe the work they undertake as faith-inspired peacebuilders and how they respond to the needs of their community. Table 5.2 below summarizes the five themes that emerged during the discussion with the research participants.

Table 5.2: Summary of the Themes Presented in Chapter 5

1. Women as Nurturing Mothers
2. Making a Difference
3. Gender Stereotypes
4. Respect for Human Life and Dignity
5. Education as a Nonviolent Alternative

Jenny (not her real name), one of the participants, shared a very interesting statement:

Home is where everything starts. Nip it in the bud. Once a child is in a good home, grounded by Christ's teachings, half of the battle is won.

My role as a teacher is limitless. I will never take this opportunity for granted. The youth under my care who are trying to change and stop using drugs (4-5 of them) are at least singing at their hearts' content when they are with me. As a woman of faith and peacebuilder, I think what these children need are nurturing mothers and a religion which is structured. Without them, they will never see their purpose. With my current role, I teach these youth to sing; some may be high on drugs, still, as choir members, they can be out of it [drugs] for a while.

Jenny's statement supports the literature review discussion presented by Macrina Morados, that women of faith stand firm in their values and take the opportunity to promote peacebuilding

wherever they go and whenever necessary.¹⁴ This statement also supports Maureen Flaherty's point about some women taking advantage of their roles as mothers to influence and create a more suitable environment for young people, an action that is beneficial for sustainable peace (see section 4.1). In a lecture, Baby Lovella Bazar, MD, DPCAM, and Chief Health Program Officer of Department of Health – Camarines Sur Treatment and Rehabilitation Center (CSTRC), shared the factors she felt contribute to drug abuse, namely: parent's unemployment, poverty, disorganized families by divorce or abandonment, single-parent families, living conditions in disorganized communities, excessive mobility from one community to another, affiliation with drug users, painful traumatic events such as separation or death, the permissive attitude of parents, violent family, and lack of communication between parents and children.¹⁵ If we look closely at these factors, most of them point to not having a stable home or a well-suited environment. In line with this, most of the participants agree that one of the most important nonviolent strategies they could contribute as faith-inspired women working to promote cultures of peace¹⁶ in the country is education, by using their current roles not only in their line of work but as nurturing mothers needed to create a stable home. Jenny believes that the role of a "faith-inspired nurturing mother" in her peacebuilding work makes a big difference in the peacebuilding work that men do, especially now that the priests are facing sexual abuse scandals. These issues on clergy sexual abuse shifted the attention to women with religious identity and became the 'more trustworthy image.' People find it much easier to recognize them as an authority and to approach them when they need help to solve their problems. Although Jenny's

¹⁴ Mark Saludes, "Women Assert Roles in Philippines' Anti-Narcotics War," October 10, 2016.

¹⁵ Baby Lovella N. Bazar, MD, DPCAM, "Understanding Addiction," *Lecture Presentation*, (n.d.).

¹⁶ Culture of Peace, as defined by the United Nations, "set of values, attitudes, modes of behavior and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations." Source: UN International Day of Peace, <https://internationaldayofpeace.org/culture-of-peace/>

comments on her role as a faith-inspired nurturing mother can again relate to the discussion on essentialism, Filipino women's traits are associated with empathy and being motherly is viewed as part of the cultural norms in the Philippines.

Melba Vera Cruz, Unit President of Ladies of Charity (a Catholic non-profit organization) and an on-call Department of Health (DOH) consultant, shared that through her role,

I try to organize wellness activities that would tie-up with local government units (LGUs), Department of Education (DepEd), or Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), and make sure to use my voice to integrate, modify, redirect their policies that would help to end the war on drugs in the country. I make sure they include these activities in their budget. As a Unit President of Ladies of Charity, I use this role to include Christ in other activities that I organize. I don't just help them improve their physical, mental, psycho-social well-being but I try to help them grow spiritually too.

As someone with direct influence in creating or changing policies, and with a health background, Melba's skills and spiritual convictions complement well how she uses her current role. The organizations that she is trying to penetrate play an integral role in the community, both in educating and improving the lives of those who do not use drugs and those who do. Melba's effort here relates to Sister Mary Tarcisia Lokot's work trying to educate the young girls that were abducted by the LRA and held as wives or sex slaves. Sister Mary helped these girls realize that they have a choice for a better life. In Porter and Every's article "Peacebuilding Women Peaceworkers," they explained that "when women are excluded from official conflict prevention and resolution, their potential impact on political decisions is limited."¹⁷ In order to benefit more from these faith-inspired women peacebuilders in a leadership role, more representation and inclusion is called for. This statement would support Melba in her role, especially if she were

¹⁷ Elisabeth Porter and Danielle Every, "Peacebuilding Women Peaceworkers," in *Mediation in the Asia-Pacific Region Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, eds. Dale Bagshaw and Elisabeth Porter (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 37.

given more opportunity to lead activities and wellness programs. Melba also shared that there are times when she would invite herself to attend planning meetings about these programs instead of being included as a consultant, which sometimes feels awkward.

Mary Rose Cumpas, Pastoral Leader for *Ligaya ng Panginoon* (Joy of the Lord), and Tertiary Education Assistance Program (TEAP) Scholars Development Program Coordinator explains her role with reference to a Peace and Conflict Studies¹⁸ concept:

I use my current role to influence and foster the cultures of peace around me. I always believe that by doing small things with great love, individuals can affect change. Imagine if each one of us is doing this, what a difference it could create around the world. Making a difference and change starts with us. I make it a point that people under my care would feel that and I pray that they would eventually do the same to others, creating a peaceful society. Besides, isn't it the joy of the Lord that we bring joy to others?

Further, Mary Rose highlights the cultures of peace concept when discussing how the work she does influence her community. Mary Rose's attitude and way of life truly understand that promoting the culture of peace can make a difference in her community.

Another research participant, Anne (not her real name), states that

We should be more pro-active rather than reactive. The best solution we can do at this point is to make sure that those who are still not using drugs will no longer be tempted to resort to using drugs. Then let us help the drug users to want to change and seek rehabilitation by providing livelihood and safe environment for their reformation and not killing them. Let us offer love and acceptance, give them hope that they can change, and help them trust God that they can overcome these challenges in life.

These simple things that faith-inspired women do in their own communities make a huge impact not only on those around them but on the country. Anne explained that one of the activities she offers is to "help the out-of-school youth go back to school through Alternative Learning

¹⁸ Peace and Conflict Studies is "an interdisciplinary field of study with a commitment to the non-violent management and resolution of conflict from the local to the international level. To pursue this goal, core political concepts such as power, order, violence and justice are theorized in distinctive ways." Source: "Theories of Peace and Conflict Studies," The University of Queensland Australia, https://my.uq.edu.au/programs-courses/course.html?course_code=POLS2515 (accessed April 5, 2019).

Systems (ALS).” ALS provides an alternative path to young people and adults who were not able to complete elementary or secondary through the regular route. This alternative system gives an opportunity for the students to learn skills that they need to find suitable employment once they finish. Anne shared that “seeing one student in school and not using drugs is one success that I could count in the work that I do.” Anne’s work can relate to Jenny’s effort in educating young people and creating a suitable environment in order to attain sustainable peace as pointed out by Flaherty. Sustainable peace does not happen overnight. As John Paul Lederach, a professor of international peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame and a conflict transformation practitioner explains in his book *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, sustainable results require a long-term process and can only be attained if peace, mercy, truth, and forgiveness meet.¹⁹ The works that faith-inspired women peacebuilders do takes a lot of mercy and forgiveness in order for them to continue doing their work. The genuine desire for peace is essential and most of all acknowledging the truth that it will not be easy and that it will take a lot of time. Sustainable peace relates to positive peace that requires harmonious relationships and not just merely the absence of violence instead of maintaining a lasting nonviolent resolution to the conflict. These faith-inspired women peacebuilders also integrate their own values and religious teachings in whatever capacity or role they do.

The Philippines is predominantly a Christian country where talking about one’s faith, or belief is not something new or shocking for people to hear. Historically, religion has been part of the culture of the Philippines and women in this country are vocal about their faith. People like

¹⁹ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2006).

Melba, Anne, and Mary Rose promote a holistic approach in peacebuilding especially since they firmly believe in the need to include the spiritual aspect of improving one's well-being.

In my conversations with the research participants reported in this section, two important themes emerged. The first theme is “woman as nurturing mother” (as mentioned earlier). Jenny emphasized at the beginning of this section how half of the battle is won once you place a child in a Christ-centered home. The Christ-centered peacebuilding activities of Filipino faith-inspired women peacebuilders are unique because they focus on developing character according to the principles of Catholic Social Teaching, personal transformation, and building a Christ-centered community rather than merely promoting financial recovery, political resolution, and safety and security restructuring, which is the main focus of secular peacebuilding. As Maryann Cusimano Love's research on Catholic women peacebuilders helps explain, Filipino faith-inspired women peacebuilders embrace Catholic Social Teaching principles and bring a different motivation and approach than secular peacebuilders who may also be religious but prefer to exclude the expression of faith because they work in secular institutions.²⁰ This simply means that the approaches and paths may be different, but the goal and intention are the same, as noted in the earlier discussions on multi-track diplomacy in section 1.4.

Another example is Elise Boulding, “a matriarch of the 20th-century peace research movement, and a sociologist emeritus from Dartmouth College and the University of Colorado,”²¹ whose contributions as a peace educator, activist, and leader are immeasurable. As explained by Mary Lee Morrison, a PhD, LCSW, adjunct faculty member in the Department of

²⁰ Maryann Cusimano Love, “Catholic Women Building Peace: Invisibility, Ideas, and Institutions Expand Participations” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

²¹ Mary Lee Morrison, “The Life and Work of Elise Boulding: Honoring Women as Peacemakers,” *Affilia* Vol. 21, No. 2 (May 2006): 169. doi:[10.1177/0886109905285820](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109905285820).

Social Work at Saint Joseph College, and president and founding director of Pax Educare, Inc. at the Connecticut Center for Peace Education in her article “The Life and Work of Elise Boulding: Honoring Women as Peacemakers,” “Elise has been unapologetic in celebrating the importance to peacemaking of the traditional work done by women, such as nurturing, caring for children and the elderly, mediating, and negotiating.”²² Elise sees the role of women as nurturing and acknowledges it as essential to peacemaking. Also, although Elise’s peace works did not identify with any faith-based organization, I believe that her association with the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) has been influential in her role as a peacebuilder as shown in her book *One Small Plot of Heaven*. In support, Boulding, as cited by Mary Lee Morrison, expresses that this book “represents in its most complete form Elise’s thoughts on families, parenting, and the important interplay among the family, God, and Quaker worship.”²³ Again, this reiterates the influence of a faith component in peacebuilding, as well as families and parenting, relating this to the theme of women as nurturing mothers.

A nurturing mother is a common trait of Filipino women, and as part of the traditional Filipino culture, many wives stay at home to care for their children while the husbands work to provide for the family. Since being a nurturing mother is one of the common traits of Filipino women, especially faith-inspired ones, it is not surprising to see this theme come up first on the list of peacebuilding. Most of the faith-inspired participants explained that they got this trait through the inspiration of their devotion to Mary, the mother of Jesus. These participants are not different from the story of Sr. Mary Tarcisia Lokot’s experience with the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Northern Uganda, as described in the literature review. Like Sr. Mary, some of the participants had also been victims of violence, maybe not the war on drugs itself but by those

²² Ibid, p. 172.

²³ Ibid, p. 177.

who were under the influence of illegal drugs, yet they chose to move on and use their experience as their strength to continue serving their community. To these women, like a nurturing mother, they had to do their best for their children because if they did not, who would? Again, throughout this conversation, I can hear Lederach's statement about building peace and mercy, forgiveness, and truth, all of which are evident in the actions of these faith-inspired women peacebuilders.

In support of the nurturing mother role in traditional Filipino culture, George Lakoff, a professor of Cognitive Sciences at the University of California at Berkeley, in his "Strict Father Model" describes that in a "traditional nuclear family with the father having primary responsibility for the well-being of the household, the mother has the day-to-day responsibility for the care of the house and details of raising the children."²⁴ This being said, again I am not surprised to see how the discussion of a nurturing mother has emerged. Although the Philippines is now trying to be more gender responsive and more women are shifting their roles from being a stay-at-home parent to working mothers, 'nurturing mother' is still the cultural reality and expectation of women in the Philippines.

Lakoff explains that

This model of the family (often referred to as 'paternalistic') is what groups together the conservative metaphors for morality. Those metaphorical priorities define a family-based morality, what I will call 'strict father morality.' Though many features of this model are widespread across cultures, the No-meddling Condition—that grown children are on their own and parents cannot meddle in their lives—is a peculiarly American feature, and it accounts for a peculiar feature of American conservatism, namely, the antipathy toward government.²⁵

²⁴ George Lakoff, "Metaphor, Morality, and Politics, or, Why Conservatives have left Liberals in the Dust," 1995, <http://www.wwcd.org/issues/Lakoff.html#STRICT> (accessed October 12, 2018).

²⁵ Ibid.

This feature explains that how one would interpret the Strict Father Model would depend on one's culture and belief. This model relates to most Filipino households and is often used by politicians to pursue their agenda and self-interest. In line with this, as stated by Lakoff, "the centrality of the Strict Father Model to conservative politics also explains the attitudes of conservatives to feminism, abortion, homosexuality, and gun control," which then, all relate to peace, conflict, and peacebuilding in a country such as the Philippines because of its cultural and political position. In contrast with the strict father model, and similar to the concept of a nurturing mother would be Lakoff's Nurturant Parent Model. Although preferable to have both parents, either parent could create this environment. Lakoff explains that

The primal experience behind this model is one of being cared for and cared about, having one's desires for loving interactions met, living as happily as possible, and deriving meaning from one's community and from caring for and about others.²⁶

Having both parents working together to create a stable home would be ideal. In the context of the Philippines' war on drugs that promotes violence and with the current political structure, the Nurturant Parent Model is the 'antidote' to the strict, disciplinarian father and could potentially be used as a peacebuilding model in the Filipino society. In addition, Morrison explains that

Families are cultures in which crucial peacemaking skills are learned and practiced, including negotiating, mediating, resolving conflicts, and learning how to deal with differences in creative ways. Parenting offers practice in the crucial skills that are needed for peacebuilding, including listening, dialoguing, and learning to reconcile. Women more often than men are exposed to these skills, but men need to learn them as well, and parenting can offer opportunities for men to learn them.²⁷

Morrison's statement here highlights how the 'nurturing parent' is a peacebuilding model to be promoted in the Philippines.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Mary Lee Morrison, "The Life and Work of Elise Boulding: Honoring Women as Peacemakers," *Affilia* Vol. 21, No. 2 (May 2006): 169. doi:[10.1177/0886109905285820](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109905285820).

The second theme that emerged in this section is the discussion on how important it is for these faith-inspired women to “make a difference” in their community. Melba, Mary Rose, and Anne shared how they want to bring joy to others and help them change. Whether providing livelihood activities or simply making other people feel cared for, for them it is doing small things with great love, and that alone could make a big difference in someone else’s life. These women use their current roles to make a footprint in society. Melba knows with which agencies to partner to help her create a bigger impact in organizing her wellness programs, and Anne encourages the out-of-school youth to go back to school and stay out of drugs. The women peacebuilders I interviewed echo that the use of the metaphor “war on drugs” instills fear, which has a negative impact and connotation. This kind of idea is not long-term and does not always achieve peace in a nonviolent manner. Instead, Anne suggests a more optimistic, long-term approach of “making a difference” in people’s lives. I told Anne that her idea resembled Johan Galtung’s positive peace theory and explained that ‘positive peace’ restores relationships, builds systems that are more integrated, and resolves conflict in a more constructive nature.²⁸ Like Galtung, women peacebuilders like Anne and Melba believe that programs that promote positive peace and seek peace through nonviolent means are essential.²⁹ Positive peace could be a good recipe for a sustainable and long-term result.

5.1.2 Filipino Women, Religion, and Politics

This section highlights the research participants’ common theme of “gender stereotypes.” Although the culture in the Philippines has already evolved, and most have started

²⁸ Claske Dijkema, “Negative versus Positive Peace,” *Irenees*, May 2007, http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-notions-186_en.html (accessed December 8, 2018).

²⁹ Ibid.

acknowledging that men and women have equal rights, from time to time we can still hear comments such as: “You should know how to do all the household chores because you are a woman,” or “Why do you want to pursue that career, that is not appropriate for a woman.” Again, these statements could relate to Lakoff’s concept of a traditional nuclear family, which is still common in most households in the Philippines. Throughout the years, I can say that the country has managed to make sure that women’s rights are now protected. The Republic Act 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women specifically provides that

The State shall take steps to review and, when necessary, amend and/or repeal existing laws that are discriminatory to women. This is in consonance with the obligation of the Philippines as State Party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to repeal all discriminatory laws and practices and to enact anti-discriminatory policies and provide effective mechanism and remedies where women can seek redress for the violations of their rights.³⁰

This law has empowered women to seek equality with men and to make sure that their rights are protected. During my interviews with the research participants, four-fifths stated that gender has not been an issue with the kind of support they are getting from their current role in the society, and that women are much more included in decision-making processes while only one-fifth felt that gender has something to do with not receiving the support they need.

Mary Rose explained: “I can see influential women in politics playing a huge role in decision-making.” Marilyn Macabadbad, Project Development Officer of the Learning Resource Management and Development of Department of Education Division of Biñan City, added that “Women nowadays are given equal rights with men to serve the country and hold vital positions in Executive, Judicial, and Legislative Government.” However, it can still be argued that even though women are allowed to serve the country and sit in government offices, women are still

³⁰ “Women’s Priority Legislative Agenda,” *Philippine Commission on Women*, <http://pcw.gov.ph/wpla> (accessed August 23, 2018).

being ignored in decision-making pieces, and women's representation is still statistically low as per UN facts and figures presented in the literature review in section 4.1. In fact, according to the Commission on Elections (Comelec) Commissioner Rowena Gumanzon, the number of women who filed their candidacies to run for national and local government positions in 2019 polls did not even reach one-fifth.³¹ Out of the 25,872 candidates, only 5,465 or 21.12 percent are women.³² This number is considerably low compared to the government's goal to raise the representation of women in "third-level government positions to achieve a 50-50 gender balance by 2014" since the enactment of the Magna Carta of Women or Republic Act 9710 in 2009.³³

Table 5.3: Research Participants' Perception of the Role of Gender in the Support they Receive

Research Participants	Number
Faith-inspired women receiving the support they need in their current roles (gender not a problem)	12
Faith-inspired women NOT receiving the support they need in their current roles or think that gender is an issue	3

Over the years, the Philippines has done a relatively good job of including and advocating women's participation in government roles and politics.³⁴ In the Philippines, two women have already become presidents,³⁵ and currently, the country has a female Vice President. The current Speaker of the House of Representatives is also a woman, and the

³¹ Katrina Domingo, "'Not enough' women running in 2019 elections, says Comelec's Gumanzon," *ABS-CBN News*, October 18, 2018, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/news/10/18/18/not-enough-women-running-in-2019-elections-says-comelecs-gumanzon> (accessed February 4, 2019).

³² Ibid.

³³ Fritzie Rodriguez, "In Numbers: Women in PH Politics," *Rappler*, March 1, 2016, <https://www.rappler.com/move-ph/124248-women-politics-governance> (accessed February 4, 2019).

³⁴ "Enacting a Women's Political Participation and Representation Law," *Philippine Commission on Women*, (n.d.), <http://pcw.gov.ph/wpla/enacting-women%E2%80%99s-political-participation-and-representation-law> (accessed January 29, 2019).

³⁵ Ibid.

Philippines has had two female Chief Justices as well. Although there are only six incumbent female senators out of twenty-four, this number is a good start of representation for women but definitely could be improved to fifty percent. This shift is proof that the country is now considering women in elected government positions.³⁶ In fact, Katrina Domingo explains in her report that in response to the low turnout of women candidates, “the Comelec’s law department is studying a proposal to require a ‘women’s quota’ for political parties to encourage more groups to be more ‘gender responsive.’”³⁷

Josephine Deveza, an elected Councilor of Barangay Binan, Laguna, and former Salesian Educator, said:

Women now hold government positions and are respected in their roles. I feel that all my suggestions, comments, resolutions, and ordinances that I am proposing are most welcome by the other councilors. I am assigned to three different committees: Education, Women and Children, and Events. I never felt that gender is a hindrance for me to serve or a problem. I make sure that I lay down the pros and cons of all the projects I authored and answer thoroughly all questions that may arise. I feel supported by the other councilors and help each other. My exposure as a Salesian³⁸ educator, ‘faith-inspired peacebuilder’ [adapted the term and use of language as we continue our discussions] honed me into a servant-leader, community officer role model not only to my children but as an inspiration to others and an active mover for others to follow.

Josephine’s case may be unique as far as the political point of view is concerned, especially if councilors belong to different political parties. In most cases or during the election, politicians undermine each other’s work to advance in the polls. Her Salesian³⁹ background may play a significant role in her successful relationships with her colleagues being peacebuilder, servant leader and community role model.

Joan (not her real name), Head of the Singles Ministry of a Catholic Group, feels

³⁶ COMELEC Election Records and Statistics Department (ERSD), “Comparative Statistics on Elected Candidates by Elective Position, by Gender: National and Local Election,” September 3, 2014.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ For information on Salesian charism, see footnotes in section 5.1 Table 5.1.

³⁹ Ibid.

the government does not listen to women and that the Philippines is still a patriarchal society in general. Women's warmth and compassion are often looked at as a weakness, but in reality, these qualities help people become a better person and welcome new beginnings.

Politics sometimes are connotated with "gender stereotypes" and perceived to be men's world because of the violence attributed to it.⁴⁰ Women are often "considered weak, emotional and indecisive—qualities that are undesirable in negotiation and decision-making."⁴¹ The qualities mentioned above also "discourage voters from voting for women candidates."⁴² This case only shows that although the country has improved generally in terms of gender equality, the patriarchal origin is still evident in some instances, especially in politics. Joan raised the issue of patriarchy again. Patriarchy can be taken advantage of to promote certain ideologies, i.e. groups that support the Strict Father Model, which can marginalize women. Although this has improved in some areas, there are still factors that hold back the contemporary era. As Joan shared, "the structure itself is founded in 'patriarchal norms' and so everything around it such as religion, economics, politics included, still revolves around patriarchy."

Sr. Brenda Leal, Assistant Vicar of the Rural Missionary Sisters of the Holy Trinity, shared that

Women and their faith are crucial in peacebuilding. Just like Mary played her role as an instrument of salvation to all people. As what Mother Teresa says, "not all of us can do great things, but we can do small things with great love." Also, gender is not an issue; when you are serving and doing good, everyone is capable. No one should feel discriminated or deprived of service because it is freely given. Just like everyone here in our community. We are all united for the common good. Men or women can do the same and achieve many great things.

⁴⁰ Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development, 1995-2025 (Manila: National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, 1995), 396, as cited in "Enacting a Women's Political Participation and Representation Law," *Philippine Commission on Women*, (n.d.), <http://pcw.gov.ph/wpla/enacting-women%E2%80%99s-political-participation-and-representation-law> (accessed January 29, 2019).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

As noted in section 4.1 and the earlier discussion on women as nurturing mothers, Filipino women look up to Mary, the mother of Jesus, as their role model. Sr. Brenda made reference to Mary's role and faith-inspired women as instrumental in saving people. She mentioned Mother Teresa and her teachings to inspire others that doing small things with great love is great in itself. Sr. Brenda expressed that women in politics or government offices have also proven their leadership skills to be as potent as those of men in leadership roles, and that gender is not an issue in doing good and service to people. In fact, advocating women in decision-making roles gives more options, ideas, and results, and may contribute to successful governance, leading to a more developed nation. "Are women intrinsically different from men in their approaches to peacebuilding?"⁴³ To answer this question, Carol Gilligan, an American psychologist, explains in her book *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* that "men and women may speak the same language that they assume are the same."⁴⁴ They look at ethical situations through different perspectives resulting in different opinions. Gilligan adds that men tend to focus on "ethics of justice" whose principle lies on equality—centered on fairness while women based their morality in the "ethics of care" and focus on nonviolence—not hurting anyone.⁴⁵ She concludes that

Both perspectives converge in the realization that just as inequality adversely affects both parties in an unequal relationship, so too violence is destructive for everyone involved.⁴⁶

Gilligan's theory focused on care-based morality associated with women can also be correlated to 'women as nurturing mothers' theme that emerged during the discussions with the research

⁴³ Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, "Seeking Common Ground," in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015), p. 302

⁴⁴ Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 173.

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 151-174.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.174.

participants (see section 5.1.1).

Moreover, Hayward and Marshall explained that “what is most important is that a nurturing and compassionate approach to peacebuilding is crucial whether men or women are involved, as is a strong voice and political weight.”⁴⁷ To build a more inclusive culture, faith-inspired women like Sr. Brenda and Josephine, who are not only strong in their faith convictions but are also visible leaders in their community, can have a positive effect in the country. Much research on women as peacebuilders would support Sr. Brenda’s point. Both Karman and Mahfouz broke gender and cultural norms in Yemen and Egypt to show that peacebuilding is a work for everyone, and women can achieve equally great things as men.

5.1.3 Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders and the War on Drugs

Nine out of fifteen participants expressed that they support the current administration’s war on drugs. The remaining six either were caught in the middle or do not support it. Going back to my question earlier that if more than 80% of the Philippines’ population are Christians, what does their support of the war on drugs mean?

Table 5.4: The Research Participants and the Philippines’ War on Drugs

Participants	Number
Number of participants who support the war on drugs	9
Number of participants who do not support the war on drugs	4
Number of participants who are caught in the middle	2

Marilyn explained that as part of a government agency and as a Filipino,

⁴⁷ Ibid.

I do support the war on drugs. The war on drugs is not just advocacy of the government but should be the advocacy of all citizens because we all want a drug-free country. We want a peaceful and progressive country. Let me point out here that I support the “war against drugs” because that [drugs] is the real enemy and not the drug users. Of course, I do not agree with the killings. This aspect needs clarification; however, I do support the current programs on the war on drugs especially the education aspect. For me, education is essential.

Again, Marilyn’s statement can be connected to Melba and Sister Mary’s insights. All these three women talked about education as a significant nonviolent peacebuilding alternative to war on drugs. Also, Teresita Mino, a member of the Ladies of Charity and a retired University Professor also shared her support for the war on drugs because for her

It [drugs] is the root cause of criminality, poverty, and mental illness to those who are involved. This issue needs to be addressed. I teach and share whenever I can the effects of drugs and help those in need and want to change. As a member of the Ladies of Charity, I help to make sure that children and youth will not be involved in this kind of life. We educate their parents too. My support is on government addressing the drug problems in the country. Never on killing those involved.

As a teacher, Teresita knows the value of educating young people, and she made that her priority. Aside from that, she understands that the parents need to be educated too because they will impart this knowledge to their children. Sr. Brenda also described that

There are much better ways of implementing the war on drugs; one way is through education. One example is I can organize women in our area and teach them livelihood projects with their husband and children in order for them to be busy and learn to be responsible for their own family. I am glad that the government is now addressing the drug-related problems in our country and I support this action. However, I condemn the killing of innocent victims especially children. The government should implement a more peaceful way of addressing this problem. I see myself as a “prayer warrior in this war on drugs.” I hope for a peaceful country and healthy citizens.

Again, Sr. Brenda’s statement supports Teresita’s sentiment. The more that people learn about the effects of drugs on their body, their family, and society, the more chance for the Philippines to have a drug-free country.

The government understands the importance of education not only as a means to solve the drug-related problems in the country, but to address other issues as well, such as poverty due to lack of opportunity and jobs. In line with this, on March 15, 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte signed the free tuition law. The Universal Access to Quality Tertiary Education Act gives a full tuition subsidy to students attending any of the 112 state universities and colleges (SUCs), 78 local universities and colleges (LUCs), and state-run technical-vocational schools nationwide.⁴⁸ The government has allocated 40-billion pesos to support the implementation of the free higher education law and has already covered the tuition of 888,799 students for the academic year 2017-2018.⁴⁹ This government action is a big step toward addressing the need for education, especially for young people. However, according to Sr. Brenda, addressing the drug issues in a peaceful way is another step that the government must take, including investing in peace education. Katerina Standish, Deputy Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and Senior Lecturer of University of Otago in New Zealand, and a Ph.D. graduate from the Peace and Conflict Studies program at the University of Manitoba, explains in her essay “Cultural Violence and Gender: Peacebuilding via Peace Education” that “peace education is geared toward the identification of violence, learning and utilizing nonviolent alternatives, and strategizing peace.”⁵⁰ She adds that “it is a critical component of building peace.”⁵¹ Prioritizing peace education would not only address the issues of violence in the Philippines but would also

⁴⁸ CNN Philippines Staff, “LIST: Universities and Colleges with Free Tuition starting 2018,” *CNN Philippines*, March 16, 2018. <http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2017/08/04/list-SUCs-with-free-tuition-2018.html> (accessed October 5, 2018).

⁴⁹ Janvic Mateo, “Free Higher Education Law implemented this year,” *Philstar Global*, February 25, 2018, <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2018/02/25/1791152/free-higher-education-law-implemented-year> (accessed October 5, 2018).

⁵⁰ Katerina Standish, “Cultural Violence in Gender: Peacebuilding via Peace Education,” in *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required*, eds. Maureen P. Flaherty et al. (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015), p. 305.

⁵¹ Ibid.

provide a nonviolent solution, foster nonviolent values and attitudes, and show practices on nonviolent conflict resolutions.⁵²

Josephine shared:

I grew up in a community where drugs were sold like bubble gums, and I always pray that my siblings and I will not be influenced or be eaten by this kind of system in our place. This is one of the very reasons that when I am given a chance to serve my community, I took that opportunity. To be an agent of change because I struggled to have a peaceful and happy life. In my own little ways, I will properly disseminate information for everyone, will be more vigilant, and will propose more projects for the youth to be engaged and empowered that there is a better future for them.

Like Josephine, my family was not immune to this kind of situation. I grew up in a similar community where illegal drugs were accessible to anyone. We were fortunate because we had the opportunity to leave the place and start fresh, but many of my friends and my brothers did not get the same chance and ended up in jail or dead. Relating Josephine's experiences and mine to RAND Corporation's research, prevention and treatment proved to be a much better solution than enforcement. For Josephine, "providing a solution that would improve the quality of life of the people and creating a better future for the young people would be the best nonviolent alternative."

Melba explained:

I support the war on drugs because in my line of work at the Department of Health, I have seen the effect of drug abuse. I saw how families were separated, how lives were ruined, how the youth's future was destroyed. This issue on drugs needs to be addressed. It is long overdue. This does not mean that killing drug users is acceptable. As a woman of faith and a health professional, it is my duty to protect people; that is why I try to help these people change so that no more lives will be wasted not the drug addicts, not their victims.

It is very evident that these faith-inspired women hold on to their Catholic Social Teaching principles: they believe human life is sacred, they uphold human dignity and respect human

⁵² Ibid.

rights, they are more inclusive, they build relationships, and they promote positive peace (as discussed in section 5.1.1).

Flewelynn Felonia, a staff nurse from a government hospital, expressed the same sentiment as Melba:

I support the war on drugs but not the way they implemented their program. There are a lot of loopholes in the system. As a health professional and as a Christian, I value life and believes that everyone deserves a second chance. I understand that it is important for me to use my position to help educate people on the effects of drugs on their body and the value of every human life.

Both Melba's and Flewelynn's statements support the literature review on women's role in peacebuilding in the Philippines. In that section, AWIT reminded the current government that the violent response to the illegal drugs issue had forgotten the fundamental teaching of the Church and the value of human life.

Marie-Lyn Manalo, Area Programs Coordinator, World Vision Development Foundation, and a member of Bancaan Christian Church-Disciples added that

I am yes with the President's conviction and determination to fight against drugs, but I am not in agreement with the process and to what has been happening with regard to this matter. I am caught in the middle because I am grateful that the issue has been addressed to and yet fearful of the unjust killings and arrests of drug dependents and dealers.

Based on all these discussions, we can summarize that most of the participants are more inclined to support 'in principle' the current administration's war on drugs. However, they clarified that their support is for the government finally addressing the drug-related problems in the country. It is clear that faith-inspired women supporting the war on drugs does not mean accepting the killings. We have to understand that these faith-inspired research participants acknowledged the value of human life and supported the government's action in addressing the drug issues but not the fatalities that are happening. Their support for the war on drugs is for more action to help the drug users change and for the non-users to not fall into this temptation. Their support for the war

on drugs is conditional on it resulting in a peaceful and safe country. They believe that the drug problem can be dealt with through education and other programs. As faith-inspired peacebuilders, they continue to remind the current administration of the value of human life and dignity as the fundamental teaching of the Catholic Church.

As I have explained earlier, although most of the participants support the war on drugs in principle, there are still some who expressed their disagreement with it. Mary Rose shared that

I do not support the war on drugs, but I agree that we have to stop the drug problem. The President's intention may be good as the drug problem is indeed something that can destroy the society; however, his ways are too radical and unacceptable. The huge number of casualties has alarmed the world and speaks of how the government has wrongly addressed this issue. The sad part is that most of the victims of this drug war are the poor while the drug lords are yet to be prosecuted. Despite the many reported and unreported cases, the Philippines is still facing the same drug problems. Do we really feel safer now or are we more unsafe? The government should address the root cause of drug problems, which is poverty and corruption. Instilling fear and eradicating those who use drugs are not the best ways to fight this problem.

Mary Rose's statement supports Gaviria's point that although the streets in Colombia felt a bit safer after they waged war on drugs, it resulted in fatalities and incarcerations, and wasted a lot of money. Is this the same price that the Philippine government is willing to pay?

Emily (not her real name), a Catholic politician, explained:

according to Section I of Article III of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied the equal protection of the law." The government should first and foremost uphold the law and protect the constitution which I think is questionable here, the reason why I do not support the war on drugs. My faith supports the constitution, for every life is valuable!

Maria (not her real name), a Campus Minister and a Catholic teacher, also shared:

I do not support the government's war on drugs because as a teacher I explain to my students the bad effect of drugs. I encourage them to be aware of the war on drugs and know their basic human rights. Stand for what your faith tells you and help others stay out of drugs.

Mary Rose, Emily, and Maria's concern for not supporting the war on drugs is the same as those who support it. Most of the participants agree that it is about time that the issue of drug use and abuse gets the attention of the government and becomes its top priority. It must be dealt with, and all concerns should be addressed to have a safe and peaceful country. There are concerns about the implementation of the war on drugs—that it was rushed, and that the government did not put the time and effort into studying the possible outcomes that it should have when human lives are at stake. Non-government agencies and faith-based organizations could have worked with the government in conducting research, in implementing related programs and looking for better solutions for a more favourable outcome and fewer fatalities. Looking at the success and failures of other countries that have been in a similar situation would have been helpful and committing the same mistakes could have been avoided. The support and other concerns raised by the respondents can be summarized by the last two hypotheses in this thesis—that faith-inspired women peacebuilders would promote nonviolent alternatives and could create collaborations with other agencies, faith-based organizations, and their counterparts abroad to gain more support from international peacebuilding communities.

In the discussions below, another two important themes emerged. Almost all participants pointed out the value of human life and dignity. It was evident in their interviews that these faith-inspired women peacebuilders not only knew Catholic Social Teaching but embraced and lived it, which is not a surprise. Growing up Catholic in a country that has embraced Catholicism for over 300 years, almost everyone has Catholic Social Teaching principles as part of their day-to-day experiences, respect for human life and dignity included. The ironic part is how the government chose to reciprocate the culture of violence of drug dealers and users with the government's culture of violence even though nonviolent programs are available. Although the

majority of the participants expressed that they support the war on drugs and it may sound paradoxical for peacebuilders to support the war, all of the research participants echoed that they ‘do not’ support how the program is being implemented. They strongly conveyed that they are opposed to all the killings and violence that is terrorizing the country. They support the government finally addressing the problems on illegal drugs but not the violence associated with it. This message then led to another important theme that came up in our discussions, the option to promote and work with a nonviolent alternative solution. Reiterating RAND Corporation’s research, prevention and treatment are better options than enforcement. In line with this, most of the participants believe that education would play a significant part in ending the drug problems in the Philippines. As Flewelynn pointed out

The government should focus on education. Make it more accessible to everyone, especially the poor and teach new skills that will allow people to be able to find decent jobs and stay away from vices.

The research participants did not only talk about educating young people or all the people about the effect of drugs on their body, their family, or community but promoting education in general. Marilyn explained the best way to

deal with drug users is by educating them and developing their skills to gain employment. Raising awareness of the harmful effects of drugs would keep them away from it. Drug education should also be integrated into a school’s learning resources and curriculum.

Being educated would assist them to find suitable employment that would allow them to provide for their family. Dr. Ranin strongly expressed that

Everything starts with the youth. Keep them busy, educate them, the out-of-school youth—put them back to school, provide employment and extensive training according to their interest so that they could bring out the best in them and find meaningful work for themselves.

Most of the participants expressed Dr. Ranin’s view—that keeping young people in school, sending back the out-of-school youth or even offering alternative learning options for

adults who want to go back to school would be a great prevention method to help them stay away from drugs. When families have better job opportunities, children have the nurturing home that Jenny was advocating earlier. This cycle would repeat for future generations, especially since these participants are looking into achieving sustainable peace. I think the government offering free education is a good initial step. Throughout my discussions with the participants, the importance of education as one of the themes in this thesis emerged several times. Again, in Flaherty's interviews with women in Ukraine, she explains that

All [her participants] spoke of the important role education should play in the lives of Ukraine's youth, stating a broad education must include critical thinking to be instrumental, first in facilitating necessary changes in the ways Ukrainians view the responsibilities of the government, and, second, in learning attitudes and skills to actively challenge policies while working their own jobs in ways that are more empowering to Ukrainian citizens.⁵³

Flaherty's explanation aligns with Filipino women peacebuilders' sense, especially the participants in this thesis who use their role as educators. To these Filipino women, that is the kind of education that is much needed in their country as well.

As for treatment discussions as explained in RAND corporation's report, teaching the drug users to get back on their feet and learning other livelihood projects would help them integrate well with mainstream society. Allocating budget for education would be a more practical and nonviolent solution to solving the "war on drugs," which would lead to "making a difference" rather than funding operations like *Tokhang* and other violent interventions.

In support of the above paragraph, in November 2007, a conference called Dialogue on Globalization responded to the drug-related conflicts in Colombia and Afghanistan. Fighting drugs and building peace was the primary topic of discussion. As part of the international work

⁵³ Maureen Flaherty, *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future*. (Maryland, Lexington Books, 2012), p. 155.

of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the participants addressed ‘movers and shakers’ both in developing countries and in the developed nations (i.e. politicians, trade unionists, government officials, businesspeople, and journalists as well as representatives from NGOs, international organizations, and academia)”⁵⁴ through hosting conferences, workshops, and publications.

Some of their key findings included that

A peacebuilding operation in any country is aimed at providing security to the people; counter-narcotics policy, however, is driven primarily by concern over effects of addiction to narcotics consumers, and actions in producing and transit/trafficking countries are determined by the requirements of the prohibition of end use. The core policy incoherence derives from offering different sanctions and incentives to the same people in their different roles as insurgents, politicians, officials, voters, farmers, and drug traffickers.⁵⁵

This information is critical to the Philippines’ counter-narcotics operations. Even if the goal is to provide security, lives could be more endangered if policy and sanctions are not directed towards a nonviolent operation. Adhering to policies such as “[shooting] suspects who [fight] back, make them fight if they do not”⁵⁶ will not be effective. The President’s “foul-mouthed style” in delivering his message to the public is sometimes misinterpreted or misquoted by biased journalists, and even his political opponents could destroy the image of his administration. Using smooth and polished words is not one of Duterte’s strong points. Words are powerful, they can make or break a person, and the proper use of words and tone could provide a clear explanation of the *Tokhang* operations policies. This explanation would include what police can and cannot do, specific definitions of the rights and options for drug addicts, and what incentives and sanctions are given to officials and offenders. With this information, fewer casualties would

⁵⁴ Barnett Rubin and Alexandra Guaqueta, “Fighting Drugs and Building Peace,” *Dialogue on Globalization*, November 2007, Occasional Papers, New York, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/usa/04992.pdf> (accessed April 29, 2018).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Audrey Morallo, “Duterte: Shoot Suspects Who Fight Back, Make Them Fight If They Don’t.” *Philstar Global*, July 12, 2017, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/07/12/1718912/duterte-shoot-suspects-who-fight-back-make-them-fight-if-they-dont> (accessed April 29, 2018).

occur, and violence would be minimized, which was the concern raised by Mary Rose, Maria and Emily when they explained why they do not support the war on drugs. Giving police the authority to shoot and kill offenders who fight gives them license to commit a crime as well.⁵⁷ Urging citizens to kill drug addicts will not help to win this war on drugs.⁵⁸ One of the participants at the conference on “Fighting Drugs and Peace Building” stated that

Sequencing of drug control and peacebuilding represents a dilemma. Effective production control by democratic means requires political and economic stability, and on the other hand, stability is hard to establish when drug production and related corruption and conflict flourish.⁵⁹

Supporting this statement is McCarthy’s assertion that in order to attain sustainable peace, general issues in peacebuilding must be addressed first. She also explains that women’s participation in peacebuilding has contributed to a peaceful result. Peacebuilding does not happen overnight; it is a long process and requires a lot of effort. Doug Bandow explains in his article “It’s Time to Declare Peace in the War against Drugs” that the war on drugs is the war on your own people.⁶⁰ As shown in RAND Corporation’s report, putting people in jail, arresting more drug users, and using enforcement is not only the most expensive strategy but has also been proven to be not the most effective. This shows that the war on drugs is not an effective solution to achieving peace and security in the country, thus, as Bandow would say, “it is time to end the drug war” and “declare drug peace” instead.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Joseph Hincks, “Philippines: Inside Duterte’s Killer Drug War,” *Aljazeera*, September 8, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/09/philippines-duterte-killer-drug-war-160905094258461.html> (accessed April 29, 2018).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Barnett Rubin and Alexandra Guaqueta, “Fighting Drugs and Building Peace,” November 2007.

⁶⁰ Doug Bandow, “It’s Time to Declare Peace in the War against Drug,” *Forbes*, October 17, 2011, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/dougbandow/2011/10/17/its-time-to-declare-peace-in-the-war-against-drugs/#44aaef031fd7> (accessed February 4, 2019).

⁶¹ Ibid.

Mary Rose explained the “government’s intention [for declaring war on drugs] might be good, but the ways are too radical.” This is where the role of faith-inspired women peacebuilders like Melba, who is a health care professional, or Josephine, who is an elected government official, could be most effective. Using their current roles combined with their faith convictions would make sure that these government programs were implemented to their full potential. Sr. Nancy (not her real name) explained that

The government should increase funding to existing faith-based organizations who are already helping people change their ways. Crisis intervention for women is an important work in our ministry. These women need support; they need a place to help them get on their feet and be able to care for their children. In order to help them, we need more volunteers, more funding for education and skills training, and a much bigger facility. Women play an important role in the family. Part of our ministry is to make these women feel supported and loved so they can do the same to their children. We help them build a relationship with God, and that way they can teach the next generation about the importance of faith and God in their lives.

In connection with the government’s intervention and nonviolent program mentioned earlier, and including faith-based organizations as part of the government’s aftercare program means to acknowledge the importance of faith and spirituality in the process of rehabilitation. Marie-Lynn shared that

As a woman of faith, we can be role models to our community, get involved. Share the importance of living a life that is free from vices, empower other women and the youth. Promote more activities on the war on drugs that would continue to involve different churches because this way we will be able to help them [the drug-users] to have a relationship with the Lord and live a normal life away from drugs. Strengthen the relationship between the government and faith-based sectors and other stakeholders because we are all affected by this drug problem. There should be collaborative efforts in implementing projects that would help those victims reintegrate in their communities.

The government has done a comprehensive intervention, treatment, and rehabilitation programs for all who voluntarily surrendered, and tried working with faith-based and non-governmental organizations. This action shows their willingness to work with other sectors; however, they have to make their best effort to ensure the success of the program. It is quite

unfortunate that the media did not focus on promoting and showcasing more of these nonviolent programs rather than highlighting the killings and casualties. The government should find ways and means to promote better programs. Drug use and abuse is not merely the government's concern or that of the people who suffer from drug addiction. The drug problem is every Filipino's concern, especially if everyone's goal is to live in a safe and secure environment.

The women peacebuilders' perspectives do not create a divide but suggest that the government's nonviolent initiatives should be promoted by all sectors. Health professionals, teachers, and religious should empower the youth and leverage their roles to educate more people and encourage those who can to help. Relating this to the discussion earlier on my adaption of social cubism, each social cube is interrelated and therefore a member of the group associated with the cube and should each perform their roles to help because sectors would also benefit from one another.

Dr. Nathalie Ranin, Public Relations and Linkages Admin Office and Unit President of Ladies of Charity, Universidad de Santa Isabel Chapter, reiterated that

The government programs and policies are good in theory and good faith; I believe that they were created for the good and welfare of the people; however, the way they are being implemented has violations which I think needs to be reviewed. Watch carefully that no human rights will be violated. Put the law enforcers in a check-and-balance system to make sure that they uphold the law justly and fairly. Develop a more positive intervention policy without sacrificing the welfare of the people (both law enforcers and those who suffer from drug addiction).

These suggestions from faith-inspired women are valuable because they are based on their experiences of what is needed and what works. If everyone would listen and do his or her part even in their own community, they could be working to end the war on drugs in the Philippines. We see the efforts that these faith-inspired women peacebuilders have made to do their share, things we all can do. Since peacebuilding is a long-term process, most grassroots initiatives tend

to be more effective because they are on a smaller scale and results can be seen easily.⁶² These faith-inspired women take advantage of their roles to initiate change. They try to integrate policies whenever they can. They try to educate, create materials, and disseminate information. They try to influence as many friends, families, students, patients, and colleagues to foster a culture of peace within their community. In no time, they will have multiplied their works in the country—the works of these women parallel action undertaken by women across the globe. Women like Sr. Mary Tarcisia Lokot, Adelina Zuniga, and Leymah Gbowee used their current roles or situations to make a change in society and improve the lives of their people.

These faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the Philippines urge the support of faith-inspired Filipino-Canadian peacebuilders. Josephine noted that by “inviting key persons in some communities that have been involved in the planning stage and letting them share the practices and strategies they have done and proven to be effective would be beneficial to them especially the ones that are still in that stage.” The Ladies of Charity faith-based organization would like to build some linkages with faith-inspired Filipino-Canadian peacebuilders who would be willing to help them create a more sustainable solution in promoting peace and support to end the war on drugs in the Philippines. They shared that they are ready to submit proposals if there is interest in hearing from them. These Filipino faith-inspired peacebuilders are hoping to find support from other international peacebuilding communities by training them, providing scholarships or sending financial and technical support in order for them to continue their peacebuilding work in the Philippines.

⁶² Elisabeth Porter and Danielle Every, “Peacebuilding Women Peaceworkers” in *Mediation in the Asia-Pacific Region Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, eds. Dale Bagshaw and Elisabeth Porter (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 40-41.

Sr. Nancy mentioned that funding help to keep their work in crisis intervention for women and young girls would help achieve their peacebuilding goals. These funds would allow them to acquire a bigger facility to help more people and train more volunteers to help them and the women in crisis. Extra funding would also allow them to provide more livelihood programs, especially to those who are willing to change their ways. Flewelynn also stated that faith-inspired Filipino-Canadian peacebuilders who have experience from other countries in policy implementation could share their expertise through lectures and training of their counterparts in the Philippines. Some participants invite their counterparts, not only Filipino-Canadians but those living in the diaspora, to educate themselves about the war on drugs in the Philippines to be able to provide leadership and advocate for the Filipinos properly. Beyond the diaspora, people living in similar contexts or who have been in a similar situation can support Filipino faith-inspired women in their peacebuilding efforts by providing educational resources and materials that were useful during their own peacebuilding campaigns.

The faith-inspired women who served as research participants for this thesis stated that the interviews allowed them to share their personal stories, their faith, and the work they do and that hearing their experiences gave voice and opportunity for them to promote peace and share some nonviolent measures. Flaherty asserts that “with intention, individual voices can be united to form a life-giving choir that privileges no voice. Every voice is needed.”⁶³ This would empower other women in comparable situations to stand with them in line with the Catholic Social Teaching principle of solidarity⁶⁴ to have a louder and collective voice for the government

⁶³ Ibid, p. 192.

⁶⁴ Solidarity is one of the principles in Catholic Social Teaching. It is “fundamental to the Christian view of social and political organizations and is the fabric for all authentic relationships...It implies a dedication to the poor and disadvantaged through individual actions and collective initiatives to make social, political, and economic structures more just and fraternal.” Source: Karen Shields Wright, “The Principles of Catholic Social Teaching: A Guide for Decision Making from Daily Clinical Encounters to National Policy-Making” *Linacre Quarterly*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (2017), pp. 10-22.

to hear, and to support the initiative in addressing the drug problem in the country while emphasizing that there are nonviolent alternatives. As the Filipino faith-inspired women peacebuilders seek sustainable peace and understand that it is a long-term process, let us remember what Lederach has shared—sustainable results can only happen if peace, mercy, truth, and forgiveness meet, and it requires everyone to change in order to preserve lasting nonviolent relations.⁶⁵ With these perspectives combined, one can uphold the premise that just as peace and security are important, so is everyone's life.

⁶⁵ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2006).

CHAPTER SIX – Conclusion

As a faith-inspired woman and supporter of eradicating dangerous drugs in the Philippines, I share many of the concerns of the women peacebuilders interviewed for this thesis. The original hypothesis—which stated that including faith-inspired actors’ perspectives in developing nonviolent strategies to end the war on drugs plays a more significant role in fostering a culture of peace in the Philippines that is different from merely secular peacebuilding since the majority of the population are Roman Catholic, and the rest identify with a faith tradition¹—is summarized in Maryann Cusimano Love’s essay, “What Kind of Peace Do We Seek? Emerging Norms of Peacebuilding in Key Political Institutions.” The essay states that “the principles pursued by peacebuilders, particularly Catholic peacebuilders, as well as church teaching suggest the following just-peace criteria: just cause, right intention, participatory process, right relationship, reconciliation, repair, and sustainability.”² Faith-inspired women perform activities that support just cause and promote the common good and care for life highlighting the teaching of the Catholic Church, use of biblical scriptures, and appealing through identification of the faith tradition, especially persons involved in the war on drugs. Returning to Love’s essay, it is also noted that Filipino faith-inspired women peacebuilders embrace Catholic Social Teaching principles in their peace work which would make sense in the Philippine setting because the majority of the population is Roman Catholic.

In the introductory chapter, I raised a paradoxical situation that even though more than 80 percent of the Philippines’ population is Roman Catholic, whose religion is centered on respect

¹ Jack Miller, “Religion in the Philippines,” *Asia Society*, (n.d.), <https://asiasociety.org/education/religion-philippines> (accessed January 20, 2019).

² Maryann Cusimano Love, “What Kind of Peace Do We Seek? Emerging Norms of Peacebuilding in Key Political Institutions,” in *Peacebuilding Catholic Theology, Ethics, and Praxis*, eds. Robert Schreiter, Scott Appleby, and Gerard Powers (New York: Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, 2010), p. 78.

for human life and dignity, most Filipinos supposedly support the war on drugs that has resulted in the loss of many lives. It is worth noting, however, that Filipinos support only the government's act of addressing the country's drug-related problems, but strongly disapprove of the violence associated with it. In other words, they want to see the change that the war on drugs has created for the country, but through nonviolent means. They expressed that violence cannot be reciprocated by violence and that Catholic Social Teaching clearly teaches the value of human life and dignity. They believe in reparations, healing through reconciliation, and building relationships.

Another hypothesis that I would like to address states that leveraging faith-inspired women who have current positions in society in peacebuilding does have a positive effect on empowering women in the Philippines. Sister Nancy explained that through the outreach work she does at the center, she was able to help improve and change not only the lives of many women residents in their center but those of the lay women volunteers too. Their center provides shelter for women and children in crisis, as well as legal services, counselling, and skills development to help the women to reintegrate in mainstream society and be self-sufficient.

Women having substantive representation in peacebuilding negotiations is essential in building a more inclusive culture. Through the current roles and leadership positions of these faith-inspired research participants, they also represented the voice of other women in their community. The research participants believe that there are nonviolent alternatives to promote and advocate for this cause. From their current progress like Sr. Nancy's, it is evident in the interviews that the works of these women are effective because of the changes they have created in their own communities and in the lives of the people that benefited from their actions. Giving more opportunity to these faith-inspired women leaders to sit at a decision-making level would

help create more gender-balanced positive peace and nonviolent programs. To these women, educating young people about the effect of drugs on their lives and society is essential. Most of them would agree that ‘prevention is better than cure’ and that it would be great if no more young people would fall into drug use and abuse. The more people they reach through the works they do, the higher the likelihood that this war on drugs will end. The end of the war on drugs may not mean that drugs will be totally eliminated but could mean that the people will be more aware of the nonviolent programs that the Philippine government and other faith-based organization offers. Some of these women are already working within the government system through their nonviolent programs and faith-based organizations. The government should put their best effort into collaborating and partnering with faith-based organizations and vice versa. The Philippines justice system could also look into creating a mechanism that is reformative and not just punitive.

In support of this statement, Macrina Morados, Dean of the Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of the Philippines, explains that “it is logical to involve faith-based organizations because of their theological training and experience on how to implement compassionate initiatives.”³ She adds that faith-inspired groups “understand clinical counselling and know how to deal with people, especially those dependent on illegal drugs.”⁴ Poverty is one factor that leads to many ‘drug users and pushers’ into dire situations. Thus, the government should strive for a sustainable economy to help the poor rise above poverty. Going back to the earlier discussions on social cubism, poverty is just one of the interrelated forces that need to be addressed. If we looked into the history of drug use and abuse and the cultures of violence of the drug dealers and

³ Mark Saludes, “Women Assert Roles in Philippines’ Anti-Narcotics War,” *UCANews*, October 10, 2016, <https://www.ucanews.com/news/women-assert-role-in-philippines-anti-narcotics-war/77317> (accessed May 18, 2018).

⁴ Ibid.

users from the early chapters, that is another root problem of the country that drives the dangerous drug problems. As the thesis title suggests, religion, culture, and conflict could be other corners of my adaption of the social cube that play significant roles in the war on drugs. The faith-inspired women peacebuilders could be the missing piece of this social cube that could help the Philippine government deal with the drug-related issues using a nonviolent strategy successfully. It is apparent that the Philippine government still has a lot of work to do. Learning from these faith-inspired women and their practices and addressing the issues of narcotics abuse in the Philippines would be a great start.

The role of faith-inspired women in fostering cultures of peace and promoting nonviolent alternatives to end the war on drugs in the Philippines is crucial. As expressed in another hypothesis of this thesis, better understanding the roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in the war on drugs would promote nonviolent alternatives and could create collaboration with their counterparts abroad, gaining more support from international peacebuilding communities. One will notice that in all government interventions, faith or spiritual components are always present. It is also evident that the government acknowledges this fact as they request help and partnership with a faith-based organization like the Christ Commission Fellowship. Faith-inspired women have a collective voice that can empower women in leadership positions so that they are included in decision-making processes especially in pursuing peace in the country. Melba's role as Department of Health consultant and Unit President of Ladies of Charity proved that leveraging her position in society and her faith empowered other women in the country, creating a positive effect in peacebuilding and a more stable gender-equal community. Melba encourages more women to actively engage in the works that the Ladies of Charity are doing. As she shared in our discussions, she invites herself to meetings that provide an opportunity to

influence policies and represent the voice of faith-inspired women in peacebuilding. As expressed earlier by the participants, understanding their role in the war on drugs as faith-inspired women peacebuilders opened their horizons to seek and create collaboration with their counterparts in the Philippines and abroad. David Steele states that “faith-based actors can be applied at all levels in society—grassroots, middle and top—and at any stage of conflict—prevention, mitigation or post-violence.”⁵ Therefore, we cannot underestimate the effectiveness of faith-inspired peacebuilders in fostering a culture of peace in the community. Steele explains that

Faith-based peacebuilders often build on beliefs and values that are widely disseminated in societies and have the privilege and opportunity to engage in education and formation. A truly faith-based formation process is one that internalizes the peace values inherent in one’s faith tradition and assists others to do this as well. It helps people move from protecting oneself and one’s identity group to acknowledging responsibility; from fearing the other to learning from the other; from grievance and victimhood to a forgiving spirit; from enemy imaging and revenge to extending hospitality; and from healing of the past to envision the future.⁶

In this light, faith-inspired women peacebuilders have shown that they are effective in their roles most evidently at the grassroots level. They were acknowledged as a source of authority as peacebuilders in their community. As they empower their community through their peace works, their community empowers them by trusting them and going to them for support in recognition of their selfless contributions. Giving them more voice and opportunities to lead and to create policies, and increasing substantive representation in peacebuilding negotiations would be beneficial in creating a more inclusive and empowered culture. It would be ideal to re-evaluate

⁵ David Steele, “An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding,” In *Pursuing Just Peace: An Overview and Case Studies for Faith-Based Peacebuilder*, eds. Mark Rogers, Tom Bamat, and Julie Ideh (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008), pp. 34-35

⁶ Ibid.

the contributions of the faith-inspired women and to measure the impact of their peacebuilding works in their communities after Duterte's term, currently in the third year of six.

In terms of contribution, this thesis offers context and education about the current status of the war on drugs in the Philippines to Filipinos outside the country and to other countries as well. This also provides an opportunity and avenue for faith-inspired women peacebuilders to promote their peace work, tell their story, hear their voices, and encourage their counterparts to do the same.

In closing, let us remember that there is never a true winner when it comes to war. Pain and casualties are experienced on all sides no matter what. As long as lives are at stake and power is being abused, there will be no victors. The war on drugs, especially in the way it is being carried out, is not a solution to achieving peace and security in the Philippines and neither will it achieve the same in any other country. The war on drugs in the Philippines may not end soon, but through the work of faith-based organizations and faith-inspired women peacebuilders, there is hope.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “About the Philippine National Police.” *Philippine National Police Official Homepage*, May 7, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20120326192226/http://www.pnp.gov.ph/main/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46:about-the-philippine-national-police&catid=25:organization&Itemid=56 (accessed May 7, 2018).
- “A Long History of Corruption in Philippine Police Force.” *South China Morning Post*, January 18, 2017, <http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/article/2063245/long-history-corruption-philippine-police-force> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Albeck et al. “Dialogue Groups: TRT’s Guidelines for Working through Intractable Conflicts by Personal Storytelling,” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2002), pp. 301-22.
- Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2007.
- Anderson, L. “Opium,” *Drugs.com*, <https://www.drugs.com/illicit/opium.html>, December 21, 2018 (accessed January 3, 2019).
- Aquino, Tricia. “Tagle reflects on why some Catholics accept drug-related killings,” *InterAksyon*, July 5, 2017, <http://www.interaksyon.com/cardinal-tagle-reflects-on-why-some-catholics-accept-drug-related-killings/> (accessed April 27, 2018).
- Bandow, Doug. “It’s Time to Declare Peace in the War against Drug,” *Forbes*, October 17, 2011, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/dougbandow/2011/10/17/its-time-to-declare-peace-in-the-war-against-drugs/#44aaef031fd7> (accessed February 4, 2019).
- “Barangay Tanods.” *LGUpdates*, December 22, 2013, <https://lgupdates.weebly.com/blogs/barangay-tanods> (accessed March 8, 2019).
- Bawayan, Francisca. “Ecumenical Women's Forum in the Philippines Celebrates International Women’s Day,” *Anglican Communion News Service*, March 14, 2012.
- Beever, Stacie Dawn. “Women’s Role in Peacebuilding: Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala Compared,” *MA Thesis*, Department of Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 2010. CiteSeerX <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.664.5890&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (accessed April 28, 2018).
- Bitacura-Loquias, Rhea and Marques-Caramanzana, Darlene. “Never Lose Sight of Life,” *Association of Women in Theology*, September 2016, <https://awitsite.wordpress.com/2016/09/> (accessed April 28, 2018).

- Boss, Dr. Sarah Jane. "Could the Virgin Mary be your female role model?," *BBC*, (n.d.), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/ztybycw> (accessed April 5, 2019).
- Brahma Kumaris*. <http://www.brahmakumaris.org/about-us/introduction> (accessed January 25, 2019).
- Burkhardt, Cheryl. "The Position of the Catholic Church in Political and Social Relations of the Philippines," *Academia*, University of the Philippines Diliman, 2011 (Publication No. 1206897).
- Byrne, Sean and Carter, Neal. "Social Cubism: Six Social Forces of Ethnoterritorial Politics in Northern Ireland and Quebec." *Peace and Conflict Studies*: Vol. 3, No. 2, Article 5, <http://nsuworks.edu/pcs/vol3/iss2/5>.
- Cahill, Lisa Sowle. "Catholicism, Ethics, and Health Care Policy," *The Catholic Lawyer*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Article 4 (1988), pp. 38-54.
- Cahill, Lisa Sowle. "The Ethics of Coming into the World," *Lecture*, Boston College, MA June 20, 2018. http://www.academyforlife.va/content/dam/pav/documenti%20pdf/2018/Assemblea2018/workshop/03_Cahill%20-%20%20paper%20June%2018%20clean%20copy.pdf (accessed September 29, 2018)
- Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime. "Restorative Justice in Canada: what victims should know," PDF file, March 2011, <http://www.rjlillooet.ca/documents/restjust.pdf> (accessed February 5, 2019).
- Canoy, Jeff. "What Colombia has learned from decades-long drug war," *ABS CBN News*, September 26, 2016, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/focus/09/26/16/what-colombia-has-learned-from-decades-long-drug-war> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Caulkins, Jonathan et al. "How Goes the "War on Drugs?" An Assessment of U.S. Drug Problems and Policy," *RAND Drug Policy Research Center*, RAND Corporation, 2005.
- "CBCP's Pastoral Statement vs Illegal Drugs, Killings," *Philstar Global*, February 5, 2017, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/02/05/1669324/full-text-cbcps-pastoral-statement-vs-illegal-drugs-killings> (accessed April 25, 2018).
- "Christ Commission Fellowship CCF SIPAG Drug Rehab Program 1/2." *Civika Asian Development Academy*, September 15, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JoDPgjBe2_Y (accessed August 28, 2018).
- "Church Open to Junkies, says Tagle." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, September 17, 2016, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/816139/church-open-to-junkies-says-cardinal-tagle> (accessed May 3, 2018).

- Clarke, Gerard, Jennings, Michael, and Shaw, Timothy, eds. *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular* (Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2008).
- CNN Philippines Staff. "Drug War Death Toll Lower in 2018, says PNP," *CNN Philippines*, August 17, 2018, <http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2018/08/17/drug-war-death-toll-2018.html> (accessed February 3, 2019).
- CNN Philippines Staff. "LIST: Universities and Colleges with Free Tuition starting 2018," *CNN Philippines*, March 16, 2018, <http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2017/08/04/list-SUCs-with-free-tuition-2018.html> (accessed October 5, 2018).
- Corrales, Nestor. "Duterte Hits Church Silence on Killing Rampage of Drug Addicts," *Inquirer*, September 1, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/927319/duterte-hits-churchs-silence-on-killing-of-innocent-victims-by-drug-addicts> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Coulter, Chris. "Female Fighters in the Sierra Leone War: Challenging the Assumptions?" *Feminist Review*, No. 88 (2008), pp. 54-73.
<http://www.jstor.org.cyber.usask.ca/stable/30140875> (accessed March 3, 2019)
- Cupin, Bea. "Duterte's Marching Orders for War on Drugs, Crime, Corruption," *Rappler*, July 26, 2016, <https://www.rappler.com/nation/141011-sona-2016-duterte-marching-orders-police-drugs-crime-corruption> (accessed April 23, 2018).
- Cura, Jaime. "Tagle Conferred 2018 Rotary Peace Award." *Epistolorium*, March 17, 2018, <https://fsdpi.org/2018/03/17/cardinal-luis-antonio-tagle-conferred-peace-awardee-for-2018/> (accessed May 19, 2018).
- "Dangerous Drugs Board." *Lecture Presentation*, Board Regulation No. 4, Series of 2016, OPLAN SAGIP, (n.d.).
- David, Randy. "Dutertismo or Clearheaded Patriotism," *Inquirer*, May 8, 2016, <http://opinion.inquirer.net/94649/dutertismo-or-clearheaded-patriotism> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Derbyshire, Charles. "The Reign of Greed: A Complete English Version of El Filibusterismo from the Spanish of Jose Rizal," *Philippine Education Company*, Manila, 1912, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10676/10676-h/10676-h.htm> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Diamond, Louise and McDonald, John W. *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1996), p. 11.
- Dijkem, Claske. "Negative versus Positive Peace," *Irenees*, May 2007, http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-notions-186_en.html (accessed December 8, 2018).

- Domingo, Cindy. "The War on Drugs in the Philippines: A Step Toward Fascism?," *International Examiner*, October 26, 2016, <http://www.iexaminer.org/2016/10/the-war-on-drugs-in-the-philippines-a-step-toward-fascism/> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Domingo, Katrina. "'Not enough' women running in 2019 elections, says Comelec's Guanzon," *ABS-CBN News*, October 18, 2018, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/news/10/18/18/not-enough-women-running-in-2019-elections-says-comelecs-guanzon> (accessed February 4, 2019).
- Dorroh, Jennifer. "ICFJ's 2018 Knight Award Winner Maria Ressa Named a TIME Person of the Year," *International Center for Journalists*, December 11, 2018, <https://www.icfj.org/news/icfjs-2018-knight-award-winner-maria-ressa-named-time-person-year> (accessed February 5, 2019).
- Dwyer, Sonya Corbin and Buckle, Jennifer L. "The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2009, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/160940690900800105> (accessed March 11, 2019).
- "Enacting a Women's Political Participation and Representation Law." *Philippine Commission on Women*, (n.d), <http://pcw.gov.ph/wpla/enacting-women%E2%80%99s-political-participation-and-representation-law> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Esplanada, Jerry. "UN Drug Report: Philippines has Highest Rate of Shabu use in East Asia," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 27, 2012, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/168143/un-drug-report-philippines-has-highest-rate-of-shabu-use-in-east-asia> (accessed January 4, 2019).
- Evangelista, Patricia. "Where the Drug War Began," *Rappler*, (n.d.), <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/investigative/beginning-war-on-drugs-philippines> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Explore Documentary Film. "Oasis of Peace, Explore Films," YouTube video, June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=An9GGV3bP00> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Fitzpatrick, Kristine. "Religion and Spanish Colonialism in the Philippines," *BS Thesis*, Department of Sociology and Archaeology, University of Wisconsin – La Crosse, Princess – Campana: SCRIBD. (Publication No. 357125392) 2013.
- Flaherty, Maureen. *Peacebuilding with Women in Ukraine: Using Narrative to Envision a Common Future* (Maryland, Lexington Books, 2012).
- Flaherty, Maureen, et al. eds. *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015).
- "Founder – Bruno Hussar." *Oasis of Peace*, <http://wasns.org/-founder-bruno-hussar-> (accessed April 30, 2018).

- Focolare Movement*, <https://www.focolare.org/en/chi-siamo/> (accessed January 25, 2019).
- Francisco, Katerina. "Timeline: Recent Cases of Alleged Bullet Scam in NAIA," *Rappler*, November 2, 2015. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/111475-naia-bullet-planting-scheme-victims> (accessed May 19, 2018).
- Galtung, Johan. "A Structural Theory of Aggression," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 1 No. 2 (1964), pp. 95-119.
- Gaviria, César. "President Duterte is Repeating My Mistakes," *The New York Times*, February 7, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/07/opinion/president-duterte-is-repeating-my-mistakes.html> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 151-174.
- Glaser, Barney and Strauss, Anselm. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New Brunswick and London: Aldine Transaction, 1967).
- Gonzales, Yuji Vincent. "PNP: War of Drugs, Suspended, Purge Off Bad Cops On," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, January 30, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/866507/pnp-war-on-drugs-suspended-purge-of-bad-cops-on> (accessed April 29, 2018).
- H., Ann. "How Whistle-blower Reveals How "Laglag-Bala" Scammers Pick their Victims at NAIA," *Elite Readers*, <https://www.elitereaders.com/naia-source-disclosed-how-scammers-pick-their-targets-at-the-airport/?cn-reloaded=1> (accessed March 8, 2019).
- Harrell, Margaret and Bradley, Melissa. "Data Collection Methods: Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Group," *National Defense Research Institute*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, 2009.
- Hays, Jeffrey. "Martial Law Years under Ferdinand Marcos," *Facts and Details*, June 2015, http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Philippines/sub5_6b/entry-3844.html (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Hayward, Susan and Marshall, Katherine, *Feminism and Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).
- Heinrich, Joy. "Gender Role within the Philippines," *Voice Lab 9*, (n.d.), <https://voicelab9.wordpress.com/non-western-cultural-norms/gender-roles-within-the-philippines/> (accessed October 11, 2018).
- Hincks, Joseph. "Philippines: Inside Duterte's Killer Drug War," *Aljazeera*, September 8, 2018, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/09/philippines-duterte-killer-drug-war-160905094258461.html> (accessed April 29, 2018).

- “Human Life and Dignity.” *United States Catholic Conference of Bishops*, (n.d.), <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/> (accessed April 23, 2018).
- “Implementation of Community-Based Rehabilitation Program (CBRP).” *Department of the Interior and Local Government*, September 26, 2017, <https://www.dilg.gov.ph/issuances/mc/Implementation-of-Community-Based-Rehabilitation-Program-CBRP/2583> (accessed February 3, 2019).
- Inglehart, Ronald and Norris, Pipa. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Kadayifci-Orellana, S. Ayse. “Muslim Women’s Peacebuilding Initiatives,” in *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*, eds. Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).
- King, Sallie. “Buddhism, Nonviolence, and Power,” *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, James Madison University, 2009.
- Kort, Alexis. “Dar al-Cyber Islam: Women, domestic violence, and the Islamic reformation on the World Wide Web,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2005): 363-383, DOI: 10.1080/13602000500408393.
- Lakoff, George. “Metaphor, Morality, and Politics, or, Why Conservatives have left Liberals in the Dust,” 1995, <http://www.wwcd.org/issues/Lakoff.html#STRICT> (accessed October 12, 2018).
- Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2006).
- Letada, Shaira Marise E. Letada. “General Intervention For “Low Risk” Drug Users,” *Lecture Presentation*, (n.d.).
- Love, Maryann Cusimano. “What Kind of Peace Do We Seek? Emerging Norms of Peacebuilding in Key Political Institutions,” in *Peacebuilding Catholic Theology, Ethics, and Praxis*, eds. Robert Schreiter, Scott Appleby, and Gerard Powers (New York: Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, 2010), p. 78.
- Mangosing, Frances. “PNP Officially Terminates Oplan Tokhang,” *Inquirer*, October 12, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/937482/pnp-officially-terminates-oplan-tokhang-pnp-oplan-tokhang-pdea> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Marshall, Katherine et al. “Women in Religious Peacebuilding,” *Peaceworks 71*, United States Institute of Peace, 2011.

- Marshall, Katherine and Hayward, Susan, eds. *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen* (United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC, 2015).
- Martin, Archbishop Eamon. "Pastoral Message for the New Year 2018 from Archbishop Eamon Martin: "To Serve Human Life is to Serve God" (Pope Francis)," *Irish Catholic Bishops Conference*, January 6, 2018, <https://www.catholicbishops.ie/2018/01/06/pastoral-message-for-the-new-year-2018-from-archbishop-eamon-martin-to-serve-human-life-is-to-serve-god-pope-francis/> (accessed May 4, 2018).
- Mateo, Janvic. "Free Higher Education Law implemented this year," *Philstar Global*, February 25, 2018. <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2018/02/25/1791152/free-higher-education-law-implemented-year> (accessed October 5, 2018).
- McCarthy, Mary K. "Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle," April 8, 2011, *CUREJ: College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/132>.
- McDonald, John W. *Beyond Intractability*, eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder, September 2003, <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/multi-track-diplomacy> (accessed March 11, 2019).
- Meneses, Jenn Panelo Ferariza. "Women of Faith, Stand with the Poor! We Rise Up for Life and for Rights!," *Association of Women in Theology*, March 9, 2017.
- Miller, Jack. "Religion in the Philippines," *Asia Society*, (n.d.), <https://asiasociety.org/education/religion-philippines> (accessed January 20, 2019).
- Morallo, Audrey. "Duterte: Shoot Suspects Who Fight Back, Make Them Fight If They Don't," *Philstar Global*, July 12, 2017, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/07/12/1718912/duterte-shoot-suspects-who-fight-back-make-them-fight-if-they-dont> (accessed April 29, 2018).
- Morrison, Mary Lee. "The Life and Work of Elise Boulding: Honoring Women as Peacemakers." *Affilia* Vol. 21, No. 2 (May 2006): 169. doi:[10.1177/0886109905285820](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109905285820).
- Noma, Emiko, Aker, Dee, and Freeman, Jennifer. "Heeding Women's Voices: Breaking Cycles of Conflict and Deepening the Concept of Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 2012, 7:1, 7-32, DOI: 10.1080/15423166.2012.719384.
- Palatino, Mong. "Duterte's Drug War in the Philippines: New Campaign, Old Problems," *The Diplomat*, February 6, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/dutertes-drug-war-in-the-philippines-new-campaign-old-problems/> (accessed May 4, 2018).
- Pax Christi International*. <https://www.paxchristi.net/about-us> (accessed January 25, 2019)

- “Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development 1995-2025,” Manila: National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (1995), 396.
- “Philippines: Coloma Cites Women’s Role in Peacebuilding,” *Asia News Monitor Bangkok*, Thai News Service Group, November 27, 2011.
- “Philippines: Duterte’s “Drug War” Claims 12,000+ Lives,” *Human Rights Watch*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/18/philippines-dutertes-drug-war-claims-12000-lives> (accessed May 14, 2018).
- “Philippines Suspend War on Drugs, Launch Campaign against Bad Cops.” *NSNBC International*, January 30, 2017, <https://nsnbc.me/2017/01/30/philippines-suspend-war-on-drugs-launch-campaign-against-bad-cops/> (accessed April 29, 2018).
- “PNP: Crime Rate Down, but Murder Rate Up.” *ABS-CBN News*, December 19, 2016, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/news/12/19/16/pnp-crime-rate-down-but-murder-rate-up> (accessed July 15, 2017).
- “PNP Oplan-Double Barrel Project Tokhang.” *Municipal Government of Calamba*, <http://www.calambamisocc.gov.ph/index.php/60-capital-outlay/411-pnp-oplan-tokhang> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- “Population of Region V – Bicol (Based on the 2015 Census of Population).” *Philippine Statistic Authority*, June 4, 2016, <https://psa.gov.ph/content/population-region-v-bicol-based-2015-census-population> (accessed August 23, 2018).
- Porter, Elisabeth and Every, Danielle. “Peacebuilding Women Peaceworkers,” in *Mediation in the Asia-Pacific Region Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, eds. Dale Bagshaw and Elisabeth Porter (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 37.
- Power, Maria and Hrynkow, Christopher. “Fostering Cultures of Encounter: Framing Papal Teaching on Dialogue as Multi-Track Peacebuilding,” *The Journal of Social Encounters*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (2017), p.25.
- “Preferential Option for the Poor and Vulnerable,” *Center for Social Concerns*, University of Notre Dame, <https://socialconcerns.nd.edu/content/4-preferential-option-poor-and-vulnerable> (accessed April 1, 2019).
- R., Anthony. “Rugby Boys,” *Wellsphere*, Men’s Health Community, November 21, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140311062623/http://www.wellsphere.com/men-s-health-article/quot-rugby-boys-quot/508771> (accessed December 7, 2018).
- Rankin, Elizabeth. “Tagle,” *The Daily Domer*, March 3, 2017, <https://dailydomer.nd.edu/news/cardinal-luis-antonio-gokim-tagle/> (accessed May 4, 2018).

- Rankin, Elizabeth. "Philippine Cardinal Tagle to Receive Ford Family Notre Dame Award for International Development and Solidarity," *Kellogg Institute for International Studies*, February 22, 2017, <https://kellogg.nd.edu/news/philippine-cardinal-tagle-receive-ford-family-notre-dame-award-human-development-and-solidarity> (accessed December 3, 2018).
- Reuters, Thomson. "Hundreds of Philippine Catholic march to protest Duterte's drug war," *CBC News*, February 24, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/catholic-march-philippines-1.4550392> (accessed February 4, 2019).
- Reyes, Benjamin. "Board Regulation No. 4 Series of 2016," *Republic of the Philippines Office of the President Dangerous Drugs Board*, September 19, 2016, Quezon City.
- Reyes, Danilo Andres. "The Spectacle of Violence in Duterte's 'War on Drugs,'" *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2016): 111–137.
- Robinson, Bruce. "Women as Religious Leaders," *Religious Tolerance*, November 11, 2011, <http://www.religioustolerance.org/femclrg5.htm> (accessed April 27, 2018).
- Rodriguez, Fritzie. "In Numbers: Women in PH Politics," *Rappler*, March 1, 2016, <https://www.rappler.com/move-ph/124248-women-politics-governance> (accessed February 4, 2019).
- Rubin, Barnett and Guaqueta, Alexandra. "Fighting Drugs and Building Peace," *Dialogue on Globalization*, November 2017, Occasional Papers New York, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/usa/04992.pdf> (accessed April 29, 2018).
- Saludes, Mark. "Women Assert Role in Philippines Anti-Narcotics War," *UCANews*, October 10, 2016, <https://www.ucanews.com/news/women-assert-role-in-philippines-anti-narcotics-war/77317> (accessed May 18, 2018).
- San Juan, Alexandria Dennise. "Duterte Retains High Approval, Trust Ratings Scoring Both at 80% - Pulse Asia," *Manila Bulletin*, October 13, 2017, <https://news.mb.com.ph/2017/10/13/duterte-retains-high-approval-trust-ratings-scoring-both-at-80-pulse-asia/> (accessed April 23, 2018).
- Santiago, Martin Kevin, Cordon, John Constantine, and Cana, Aldrin Jose. "Kill Them All: The Government's War on Drugs," *The Bedan Review*, Vol. V, March 13, 2017.
- Sawatzky, Jarem. *The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice: Studies from Hollow Water, The Iona Community, and Plum Village* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2009).
- Schadewitz, Nicole and Jachna, Timothy. "Comparing Inductive and Deductive Methodologies for Design Patterns Identification and Articulation, International Association of Societies

- of Design Research,” *The Hong Kong Polytechnic University*, November 12-15, 2007, <https://www.sd.polyu.edu.hk/iasdr/proceeding/papers/Comparing%20Inductive%20and%20Deductive%20Methodologies%20for%20Design%20Patterns%20Identification.pdf> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Schwarz, Tanya. *Faith-Based Organizations in Transnational Peacebuilding* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd, 2018).
- Schreiter, Robert, Appleby, R. Scott, and Powers, Gerard Powers, eds. *Peacebuilding Catholic Theology, Ethics, and Praxis* (New York: Orbis Books, Mary Knoll, 2010).
- Serafica, Raisa. “PH media goes black to protest threats against press freedom,” *Rappler*, January 19, 2018, <https://www.rappler.com/move-ph/194064-black-friday-rally-january-19-press-freedom> (accessed February 5, 2019).
- Simbulan, Roland. “Philippines 2016: How ‘Dutertismo’ Can Make a Difference? Ballots and Bullets,” *School of Politics and International Relations*, University of Nottingham, May 11, 2016. <http://nottspolitics.org/2016/05/11/philippines-2016-how-dutertismo-can-make-a-difference/> (accessed May 20, 2018).
- Stammer, Larry. “Rethinking Tactics in War on Drugs,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 2000, <http://articles.latimes.com/2000/jun/03/local/me-36898> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Standish, Katerina. “Cultural Violence in Gender: Peacebuilding via Peace Education,” in *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required*, ed. Maureen P. Flaherty et al. (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015), p. 305.
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. “Bible and Church Degrade Woman,” H. L. Green, [1896?]. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8HGDC6> (accessed March 9, 2019).
- Steele, David. “An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding.” In *Pursuing Just Peace: An Overview and Case Studies for Faith-Based Peacebuilder*, eds. Mark Rogers, Tom Bamat, and Julie Ideh (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008), pp. 34-35.
- Stavinskas, Peter M.J. “Standing with Mary, the Mother of God, at the Cross,” *The Catholic World Report*, March 31, 2018, <https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2018/03/31/standing-with-mary-the-mother-of-god-at-the-cross/> (accessed March 9, 2019).
- Strathearn, Gaye. “Mary, the Mother of Jesus,” *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, January 2019, <https://www.lds.org/study/ensign/2019/01/mary-the-mother-of-jesus?lang=eng> (accessed April 1, 2019).

- “Tagle’s Christmas Message: Make Room for the Poor.” *ABS-CBN News*, December 24, 2015, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/news/12/24/16/cardinal-tagles-christmas-message-make-room-for-the-poor> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- Tangco, Roberto D. and Ricardo Ma. Nolasco. “‘Taglish’ verbs: How English Loanwords Make it Into the Philippine Languages,” *In Papers from the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, ed. M. Macken (Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), pp. 391-406.
- Taylor, Sarah. “A Better Peace? Including Women in Conflict Negotiations,” *The New School of Social Research*, The New School, 2015.
- “Theories of Peace and Conflict Studies.” The University of Queensland Australia, https://my.uq.edu.au/programs-courses/course.html?course_code=POLS2515 (accessed April 5, 2019).
- “The Qur’an: English Meanings and Notes by Saheeh International,” *Al-Muntada Al Islami Trust*, 2011.
- Thompson, Mark. “The Early Duterte Presidency in the Philippines,” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2016), pp. 3-14.
- Thompson, Mark. “Poor Filipinos’ Lives Don’t Seem to Matter,” *New Mandala*, August 12, 2016, <http://www.newmandala.org/poor-filipinos-lives-dont-seem-matter/> (accessed April 28, 2018).
- Trochim, William. “Deduction and Induction,” *Web Center for Social Research Methods*, 2006, <https://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/dedind.php> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Trujillo-Gomez, Anamaria. “The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia.” *MA Thesis*, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, Washington DC, 2013, <http://hdl.handle.net/10822/558255> (accessed May 7, 2018).
- Tzu Chi*. May 22, 2014, http://tw.tzuchi.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=159&Itemid=198&lang=en (accessed January 25, 2019).
- “UN Women Facts and Figures: Peace and Security,” (n.d.), <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures> (accessed April 28, 2018).
- Valente, Catherine and Antiporda, Jefferson. “Yes, I’m running for President – Duterte,” *The Manila Times*, November 23, 2015, <http://www.manilatimes.net/yes-im-running-for-president-duterte/230855/> (accessed April 30, 2018).

- Velasco, Nong. "Discovery Channels - Inside the Gangster Code s01 e02 – The Commandos." YouTube video, December 19, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pgSbm5FrdBY> (accessed April 30, 2018)
- Wallace, Cynthia. *Of Women Borne, A Literary Ethics of Suffering* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2017).
- Wells, Christopher. "Pope Francis: Journey to UAE, part of the "surprises" of God," *Vatican News*, February 6, 2019, <https://www.vaticannews.va/en/pope/news/2019-02/pope-francis-general-audience-apostolic-journey-uae.html> (accessed March 10, 2019).
- White, Aimee. "Why Women's Participation is Essential to Sustainable Peacebuilding: Lessons from Sierra Leone," *MA Thesis*, Dalhousie University, 2008.
- "Women's Priority Legislative Agenda," *Philippine Commission on Women*, <http://pcw.gov.ph/wpla> (accessed August 23, 2018).
- Woodiwiss, Catherine and Farnell, Emily. "13 Religious Women to Watch in 2012," *Center for American Progress*, March 7, 2012, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/religion/news/2012/03/07/11208/13-religious-women-to-watch-in-2012/> (accessed April 27, 2018).
- Wright, Karen Shields. "The Principles of Catholic Social Teaching: A Guide for Decision Making from Daily Clinical Encounters to National Policy-Making," *Linacre Quarterly*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (2017), pp. 10-22.
- Zarco, Ricardo. "A Short History of Narcotic Drug Addiction in the Philippines, 1521-1959," *Philippine Sociological Review* Volume 43, Issue No. 1/4 (1995), pp. 1-15.

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide (English and Filipino versions):

Name: _____

Organization's Name: _____

Position (if any): _____

1. Please state your name. Please also indicate whether you agree to have your name be published or you wish anonymity when this research is reported.

Pakisaad ang iyong pangalan. Maaring pakisaad ang iyong pahintulot na ilathala ang iyong pangalan o kung nais mong manatiling lihim ang iyong pagkatao.

2. Do you have any government and/or religious affiliation?

Mayroon ka bang kaugnayan sa gobyerno o kinabibilangang relihiyon?

- 2.1 If yes, what is your current role in that government or religious affiliation?

Kung mayroon, ano ang iyong kasalukuyang posisyon sa gobyerno o sa iyong relihiyong kinabibilangan?

- 2.2 Do you feel supported in your current role? Can you please explain it further by giving some examples?

Masasabi mo bang suportado ka sa iyong posisyon? Maaari mo bang ipaliwanag sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng mga halimbawa?

- 2.3 Do you think gender has something to do with regards to the support you are receiving or not receiving? Can you please explain further by giving some examples?

Sa iyong palagay, may kinalaman ba ang iyong kasarian sa suportang natatanggap mo o hindi mo natatanggap? Maaari mo bang ipaliwanag sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng mga halimbawa?

3. Do you support the President's war on drugs? Why or why not?

Sumusuporta ka ba sa laban ng pangulo kontra droga? Oo o hindi?

- 3.1 Where do you see yourself in the current status of the war on drugs in the country?

Saan mo nakikita ang sarili mo sa kasalukuyang estado ng laban kontra droga sa bansa?

4. Do you consider yourself a faith-inspired woman peacebuilder? Why or why not?

Masasabi mo ba na ikaw ay isa sa mga babaeng tumataguyog ng kapayapaan ayon sa iyong pananampalataya? Oo o hindi?

- 4.1 Do you think women and religion has an important role in peacebuilding in the country? Why or why not?

Sa iyong plagay, mahalaga ba ang kababaihan at ang relihiyon o pananampalataya sa pagtaguyod ng kapayapaan sa bansa? Oo o hindi at bakit?

- 4.2 What actions have you taken to aid in fostering cultures of peace?

Ano-ano ang mga akyon na nagawa mo upang maitaguyod ang kultura ng kapayapaan sa bansa?

- 4.3 Does this action have a connection with your current role or is inspired by your faith?

May kaugnayan ba ang mga aksyon na nagawa mo sa iyong kasalukuyang posisyon o ang iyong mga akyon ay hango sa iyong pananampalataya?

- 4.4 How do you use your current status within the society to further peacebuilding efforts?

Paano mo ginagamit ang iyong posisyon sa lipunan sa pagtaguyod ng kapayapaan?

5. In your pursuit of peace in the Philippines, do you feel that women are included in decision-making processes more generally?

Sa pagtataguyod ng kapayapaan sa Pilipinas, masasabi mo ba na ang mga kababaihan ay kabilang sa mga paggawa ng desisyon?

- 5.1 Does this pursuit of peace adequately promote gender equality as well?

Sa pagtataguyod ng kapayapaan, masasabi mong kabilang ang pagkakapantay-pantay ng kasarian?

6. What is your understanding of your role as a woman of faith and stature in the war on drugs?

Ano ang iyong pangkakaunawa sa iyong kasalukuyang katayuan bilang kababaihan na may pananampalataya at katayuan sa buhay sa laban kontra droga?

6.1 How can you promote nonviolent alternatives to populist political policies?

Paano mo maitataguyod ang mga mapayapang alternatibo sa mga politikong nagpapatupad ng patakaran?

7. How do you think the current government should deal with the drug users?

Sa tingin mo, paano dapat solusyunan ng kasalukuyang administrasyon ang problema sa mga gumagamit ng ipinagbabawal na gamot?

7.1 Do you agree or disagree with their current policies?

Sumasang-ayon ka ba o hindi sa kasalukulang patakaran?

7.2 Do you have a suggestion on how this can be improved?

May mga mungkahi ka ba kung paano pa ito mapapasaayos?

8. How can faith-inspired Filipino-Canadian women peacebuilders support women like you in your efforts of peacebuilding?

Paano makakatulong ang mga kababaihang 'Filipino-Canadian' na tinatawag ng kanilang pananampalataya at tagapagtaguyod ng kapayapaan sa mga kababaihang katulad mo sa inyong pagsusumikap para sa kapayaapaan?

8.1 With the current status of the war on drugs in the Philippines, do you have any suggestions or ideas that we can help promote peace in the country while eradicating dangerous drugs on the street?

Sa kasalukuyang estado ng Pilipinas ukol sa pakikipaglaban kontra droga, mayroon ka bang mga mungkahi para makatulong sa pagpapalaganap ng kapayapaan sa bansa habang patuloy na nililinis ang masasamang element ng droga sa lansangan?

APPENDIX B

Participant Consent Form

1. Project Title

Religion, Culture, and Conflict: Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders Working to End the War on Drugs in the Philippines

2. Researcher

Primary Investigator: Marissa Alarcon, Graduate Student, MA Program Religion and Culture, University of Saskatchewan, Phone: (306) 966-0942, email: marissa.alarcon@usask.ca

Primary Investigator's Graduate Supervisor: Dr. Christopher Hrynkow, Department of Religion and Culture, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, Phone: (306) 966-8942

3. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to discern emerging issues and the possible roles of faith-inspired women peacebuilders in ending the war on drugs in the Philippines. This thesis will also examine how can faith-inspired actors aid in fostering cultures of peace and how can faith-inspired women use their current roles within the society to further peacebuilding efforts.

4. Procedures

The researcher will interview 5-10 faith-inspired women for 30-60 minutes using the interview guide questions. Both English and Filipino languages may be employed to develop clarity of questions and for an in-depth quality of results. The interview will be recorded for reference purposes only and will be handled with utmost confidence. You can stop the interview before it is complete, or afterwards. The interview will be recorded but as a participant, you may ask to have the recording device turned off at any time.

5. Funding

This project is funded by the University of Saskatchewan Travel Awards – Global Engagement Scholarship.

6. Potential Risks

Answering in this interview falls under the category of minimal risk. However, you should know that your responses could be made public unless you ask that they not be, and there may be risks associated with that. Individual's current role or position will be associated with your responses and your identity will only be made public with your permission. Upon request, identity and responses can be made anonymous.

7. Potential Benefits

By participating in this study, you will give voice and help faith-inspired actors aid in fostering cultures of peace and identify how faith-inspired women can use their current roles within the society to further peacebuilding efforts.

8. Confidentiality

Participation in this study is completely your choice. If there are any questions you would rather not answer, you are free to say so and this will be respected.

Your answers may be quoted, paraphrased, or written about in the researcher's thesis, published papers or conference presentations, but your name will not be used unless you gave permission. It must be stressed, however, that because of the nature of some communities it may be possible for others to identify who you are from what your answers.

That said, should you wish to remain anonymous, the researcher will not correlate the answers you share with any name in their records. This consent form will be stored separately from the interview responses.

☐ **I would like** to remain anonymous.

☐ **I do not mind** to be identified.

9. Right to Withdraw

You have the right to withdraw your participation at any point, and there will be no repercussions for doing so. You can stop the interview before it is complete, or afterwards. The interview will be recorded but as a participant, you may ask to have the recording device turned off at any time. You can contact me at marissa.alarcon@usask.ca or at 306-966-8942 to withdraw. After October 1, 2018 withdrawal may no longer be possible.

10. Follow up

The researcher will only contact you for one of the purposes outlined below. Any information shared here will only be used for that purpose.

A. You may also request a personal copy of the results of this research for yourself. If you do wish to receive a copy, please indicate below and supply your contact information.

☐ **I would not** like a personal copy of the published research.

☐ **I would** like a personal copy of the published research. Please send it to me via:

☐ Email: _____

[] Mail: _____

B. You may also request a copy of the transcript of your interview. If you do wish to receive a copy, please indicate below and supply your contact information.

[] I **would not** like a copy of the transcript of my interview.

[] I **would** like a copy of the transcript of my interview. Please send it to me via:

[] Email: _____

[] Mail: _____

11. Questions or Concerns

If you have any questions or concerns, you can contact Marissa Alarcon, the primary investigator at marissa.alarcon@usask.ca or her graduate supervisor Dr. Christopher Hrynkow chrynkow@stmcollege.ca

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office. Their email address is ethics.office@usask.ca, and their telephone number is (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call 1-306-966-2975 collect.

12. Consent

By signing below, you are indicating that you have understood the project and your participation in it. You are confirming that you are freely and voluntarily agreeing to participate and have had all questions satisfactorily answered by the interviewer and researchers. You are also confirming that a copy of the consent form has been given to you for your records.

Name of Participant _____
Signature _____
Date

Researcher's Signature _____
Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

APPENDIX C

Transcript Release Form

Thesis Title

Religion, Culture, and Conflict: Faith-Inspired Women Peacebuilders Working to End the War on Drugs in the Philippines

Researcher

Primary Investigator: Marissa Alarcon, Graduate Student, MA Program Religion and Culture, University of Saskatchewan, Phone: (306) 966-8942, email: marissa.alarcon@usask.ca

Primary Investigator's Graduate Supervisor: Dr. Christopher Hrynkow, Department of Religion and Culture, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, Phone: (306) 966-8942

I, _____, have read and reviewed the transcript of my interview, and if necessary, have made changes and corrections. I confirm that I am happy with how my words are recorded and represented. I also confirm that this transcript may be used as I was told it would be on the consent form I signed at the beginning of my interview. I have been given a copy of this transcript release form for my records.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

Signature of Researcher